

# IN THESE TIMES

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**WILL**

**STAR WARS**

**BOMB**

**IN**

**GERMANY**

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# Anti-nuke doctors get Peace Prize

By David Moberg

Nearly a quarter-century ago a small group of physicians meeting in Cambridge, Mass., heard the British Nobel peace laureate Philip J. Noel-Baker talk about the dangers of nuclear war. Leaving the meeting, some of them, including Dr. Bernard Lown, decided they had to do something. So they founded Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) and undertook research on the medical effects of nuclear war that was published by the *New England Journal of Medicine*, the start of serious education on the subject of doctors and even of the Pentagon. Around that same time, Dr. Lown, a professor at Harvard and already an influential cardiologist, met and became friends with Dr. Evgueni Chazov, a prominent Soviet heart doctor whose career was also soaring.

Out of those beginnings, followed by a long period of low-level activity, an international movement of doctors opposed to nuclear arms emerged in the '80s. This year, after several years of rumors that they were under consideration, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War—whose co-presidents are Drs. Lown and Chazov—received the Nobel Peace Prize. It was in part a recognition of the work doctors have done in just a few years to make both their colleagues and the general public aware that nuclear war would be so devastating that survival was dubious and that there would be no chance of meaningful medical treatment of the survivors.

But it was also a symbolic statement by the Nobel committee to Reagan and Gorbachov that when they meet in November this grim prospect should goad them to brake the arms race. Earlier this summer IPPNW gave world leaders its "medical prescription": a moratorium on all nuclear testing followed by the negotiation of a comprehensive test ban treaty.

IPPNW has been, even according to its leaders, in large part a symbolic organization. Focused solely on nuclear arms, it avoids other political issues as much as possible. In contrast to Reagan, who recently linked any progress on arms control to resolving underlying tensions, IPPNW argues that nuclear arms agreements can—and must—be reached despite persisting political conflicts. Through its own multinational agreements, IPPNW shows that it is possible. "It's symbolic," long-time PSR leader Dr. Richard Gardiner said, "but so is the nuclear arms race symbolic. Nobody is going to fight nuclear war and win. I wouldn't put [IPPNW] down for being symbolic."

The *Wall Street Journal* editorialists, who cherish the idea of arms control about as much as they love Communists, didn't like the Nobel symbolism, calling it a "peace fraud." They charged that information about the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war was spread only in the West and that IPPNW had ignored the fate of Soviet peace dissidents.

## Educational role

But IPPNW claims that its education has reached the Soviet public and that it may have influenced Soviet policy. In 1982, three U.S. and three Soviet physicians, including Lown and Chazov, were on Soviet prime-time TV—later rebroadcast as well—and agreed on several points before an estimated audience of 100 million: nuclear war would destroy both the U.S. and the Soviet Union; there could be no medical response; the arms race deflected funds from much-needed ends in both countries; and civil defense was illusory. Some of that was quite novel in the Soviet mass media and directly challenged the Soviet government's substantial commitment to civil defense. (The three major networks in the U.S. declined to run the same show, although PBS eventually aired it.) Two American psychiatrists, employing similar tests found that children in both the Soviet Union and the U.S. had a high recognition of the dangers of nuclear war, indicating that education of some sort has sunk in on each side. (The Soviet score was actually slightly higher.)

Since its founding in 1980, IPPNW has held steadily larger annual congresses—800 representatives of 41 national member groups with 135,000 members and of assorted other non-member nations, including China, met this summer in Budapest—sponsored research and publications and arranged exchanges of physicians, primarily between the U.S. and the USSR but also between North and South. Although some member groups have criticized policies of other nations on non-nuclear issues, IPPNW has tried to keep out other issues. At one of its earliest meetings, Lown reportedly persuaded the Soviet doctors to drop statements blaming American imperialism for the arms race. "We never criticize any government or support any government," IPPNW executive director Conn Nugent said. "We criticize everybody and anybody who has nuclear arms. We're fundamentalists. We believe in the abolition of these weapons of genocide."

The Soviet doctors' group is officially supported by the government and Chazov is a recent member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party as well as director-general of the USSR Cardiology Research Center and leading doctor to recent top Soviet officials. Contrary to the drift of the *Journal* editorial, Nugent said, the family of dissident and peace advocate Andrei Sakharov has never officially asked IPPNW for assistance. But at one IPPNW congress four doctors met with the Sakharovs and complied with two specific medical requests.

At a time when the movement against nuclear arms has stagnated in the U.S. and Western Europe, the Nobel prize could be a boost. "Colleagues who before said of my work, 'That's very nice, but where's the budget report?' now want to know more about it," IPPNW Treasurer Dr. Michael McCally said. He hopes PSR can now try a much larger scale recruiting drive among all 485,000 doctors in the U.S. and boost its membership above 28,000. (The Soviet group, with 60,000, is the largest in IPPNW. Other large groups—some

proportionately much bigger than either superpower—are in Finland, Sweden, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Cuba, Hungary, Canada and the Netherlands.)

## Linking efforts

For a few years, there was tension between PSR and IPPNW that partly reflected personal differences between Lown and Dr. Helen Caldicott, the passionate Australian-born pediatrician whose tireless organizing and apocalyptic speeches largely built PSR to its current size and influence and initiated many of the major Western European organizations—thus making IPPNW possible. Besides the clash of two strong personalities—described by some as the "mother" and "father" of PSR—and fundraising competition, Caldicott reportedly was less enthusiastic, according to Gardiner, "about being buddy-buddy with the Russians." Caldicott no longer heads PSR, and its relations with IPPNW are more friendly. Yet it remains true that the national groups, like PSR, do most of the educational and organizing work while IPPNW provides the global links.

IPPNW leaders believe that a testing moratorium followed by a comprehensive test ban treaty could not only break the arms control logjam but also greatly slow down the militarization of space, development of smaller, easily concealable warheads and other qualitative advances that could trigger another dangerous cycle of the arms race. Insiders claim that last winter Chazov was gently pressured against his initial inclination to support a moratorium as a prelude to a treaty. Then in July IPPNW adopted that position. Roughly a month later Gorbachov made his offer to the U.S. Some in IPPNW believe that their work, through Chazov, may have helped bring that about.

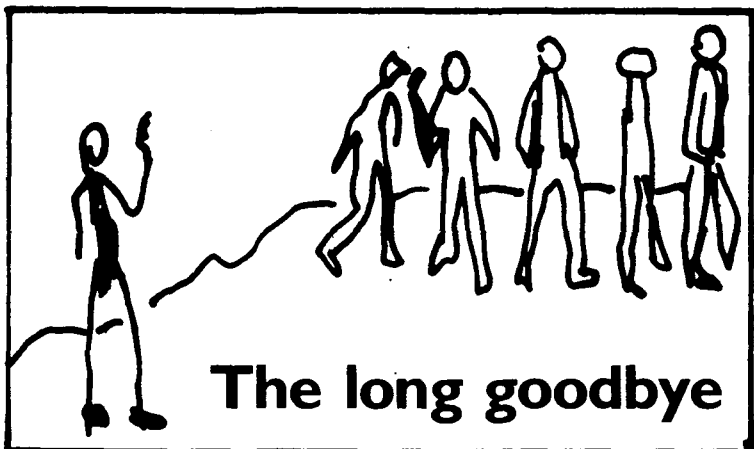
IPPNW is now pressing for a meeting with Reagan, planning an expanded global exchange of doctors and pushing for a testing moratorium and test ban treaty, which the U.S. and Soviets almost reached in 1979. As it gains notoriety and influence, IPPNW will undoubtedly be swamped more with attacks on the Soviet Union that are designed to drown the message about the urgency of nuclear disarmament.

"Our head is now above the foxhole and we should expect a few

# THE STORY INSIDE

bullets," said Dr. John Pastore, secretary of IPPNW. "We've gone from an organization that is interesting but essentially harmless, and we've become dangerous to people who want to continue the arms race." In part Pastore believes that the human exchanges between the U.S. and the USSR may counter some of the demonology. "The Soviet Union desperately wants to be treated in a different way," he said. And IPPNW has not only tried to get that message to Reagan—whom Pastore sees as more pragmatic and open to influence than his highly ideological advisors—but also attempted to advise the Soviets on what they could do to thaw relations. "The Soviet Union has the responsibility to modify the way it acts, too," he said.

Ultimately, he argued, "so much is on the human level—I like you or I don't like you." That human connection, combined with a scientific awareness and political conviction, was enough to win a Nobel peace prize. Now it's a question of moving from symbol to reality. ■



## The long goodbye

Since the beginning of August, several members of *In These Times* staff have departed for greener pastures—at least as seen from this side of the fence. That month, our circulation manager Bill Rehm left for a new job in San Francisco with Richard Parker and Associates, and our long-time bookkeeper and acting business manager Grace Faustino retired to become a freelance designer and artist. Then in late September, our assistant publisher Felicity Bensch returned to California to work for the California Historical Society in San Francisco, and our office manager Kathleen Gallagher was hired away by a Concert Typographers customer who saw one of her memos tacked up on our reception room wall. And this month, our assistant managing editor and book review editor Emily Young left to work for the University of Chicago Press doing book promotion, and our long-time typesetter Diane Scott went on the road as an instructor for the Mergenthaler Linotype Company.

As we reported two weeks ago, Grace has been replaced (if that is possible) by our new business manager Alfred Dale. In addition, Bill has been replaced by his former assistant, Leenie Folsom. And, as those of you who read our classified ads know, we are now in the process of hiring a new assistant publisher and assistant managing editor.

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IN THESE TIMES

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European Editor

DIANA JOHNSTONE

California Bureau

(415) 531-7182

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In Short Editor

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# Germany in quandary over share of Star Wars research

By Michael Lucas  
& Diana Johnstone

**C**HANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL'S visit to Washington last week was unlikely to have settled once and for all the controversy that has been brewing all year among West German business and political leaders over whether or how to take part in Reagan's Star Wars research program, known as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

On the one hand, the Kohl government is naturally disposed to go along with U.S. desires. On the other, no convincing argument, on either strategic or economic grounds, has yet been found to justify an official "yes" to the SDI. A "yes" could revive the peace movement and give the Social Democratic Party (SPD) the more plausible side of the policy debate.

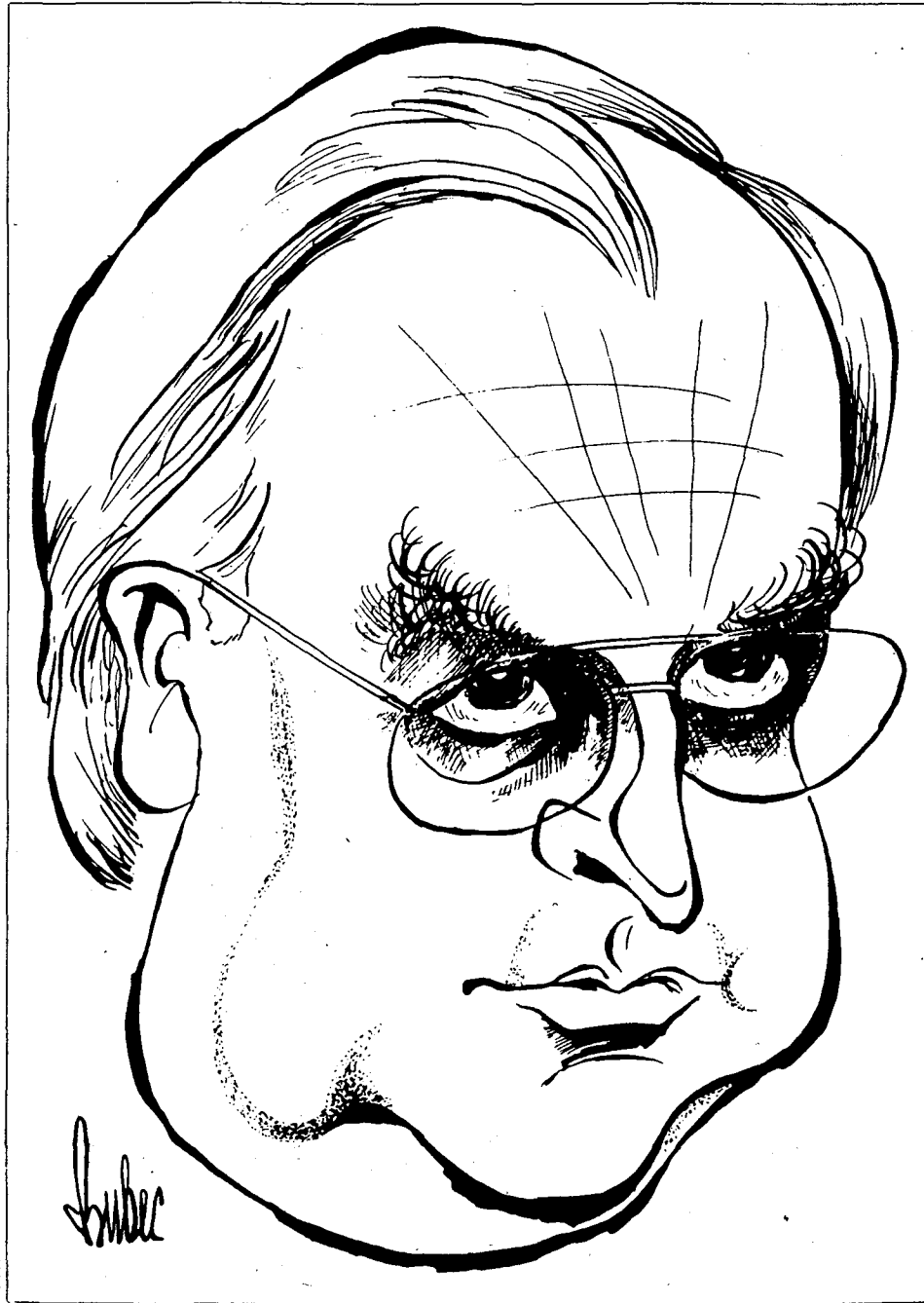
Strategically, the best way to justify the SDI to European allies has been to promise them it won't really work. For if it did, it would protect the U.S. from Soviet intercontinental missiles while leaving Western Europe uncovered and "decoupled" from the U.S. Thus all parties in the Bundestag quite naturally rejected the idea at first. Since then, efforts have been made to fashion a strategic concept justifying SDI in terms of European concerns, while the \$26 billion pork barrel of SDI research contracts has aroused the interest of NATO-country industrial firms eager to enter the brave new world of "emerging technologies." But here, too, differences of interest between the U.S. and the Federal Republic make agreement hard to reach.

Even if the strategic or economic advantages were clear—which they definitely are not—they would have to be weighed against fears that SDI will violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, thereby undermining prospects of reaching an arms control agreement in Geneva, and that an intensified arms race between the superpowers will undercut European countries' foreign policy leverage. Even the military fear that SDI's high costs could fiscally undercut the current conventional defense buildup.

To overcome the opposition on strategic grounds, Pentagon leaders have suggested a European version of SDI could be developed to shield the European NATO allies from Soviet intermediate range missiles. As early as November 1983, a North Atlantic Assembly report suggested that "the earliest application of SDI technologies" might be to defend Europe against tactical Soviet ballistic missiles such as the SS-21, SS-22 and SS-23. The report pointed to a U.S. program to develop an anti-tactical missile (ATM).

"In the near term, conversion of the Patriot air defense missile to tactical anti-ballistic missile role is being considered by the U.S.," the report noted, while in the longer terms, new systems incorporating Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) technology was being considered. Five months later, at the April 1984 meeting of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger announced that a full-scale BMD system would be extended to Europe in order to overcome the gap in European defense threatened by SDI.

The arms control spokesman of the Christian Democratic and Christian Social Union parties (CDU and CSU) in the Bundestag, Jurgen Todenhofer, has called on European governments to support SDI actively and use their support to exert greater influence on the U.S.—both as to its negotiating positions in Geneva and in the SDI research programs themselves. In re-



sponse to criticism that SDI would create a security gap in Europe, Todenhofer has called for a joint effort by West Germany and the U.S. to develop a missile defense system for Western Europe. Proponents of an extension of SDI to Europe call for development and deployment of additional offensive systems as well as defense, land-based, anti-missile missiles in Western Europe. According to several current proposals, West German collaboration could include a share in the R&D of the hardware and software of such missiles and, to one degree or another, political-military control over their use.

## European Defense Initiative

This Europeanized SDI—officially dubbed the "European Defense Initiative" (EDI)—has been gaining support in the CDU and the CSU. Leading EDI champions include Bundestag faction leader Alfred Dregger and Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, chairman of the CSU and the most prominent board member of West Germany's most important arms manufacturer, Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm (MBB), which has long been involved in cruise missile research. The go-ahead for development came last year when the Western European Union lifted 1954 restrictions on West German manufacture of long-range missiles.

Even before President Reagan's Star Wars speech of 1983, U.S. defense circles had for years been discussing the possibility of upgrading the Patriot air defense missiles into Anti-Tactical Missiles. Critics maintain this would not only be costly but would also violate the ABM Treaty and in the process begin a new arms race in Europe based on development of new offensive and defensive land-based missile systems.

The British and French defense establish-

ments have opposed SDI on grounds that it would erode their independent national deterrent, since the USSR could be expected to follow suit and build missile defenses easily able to protect Soviet targets from the relatively modest French and British strategic retaliation forces. The U.S. has met this objection by proposing to upgrade French and British deterrent forces with additional "penetration aids" to enable them to pierce potential Soviet BMD systems. Such technical fixes proposed by the U.S. each time some SDI deficiency is exposed suggests that the basic problems of European defense may in fact be greatly complicated rather than simplified by SDI. It is also evident that the effort to build a "strategic defense" is to be combined with efforts to penetrate whatever strategic defense the other side builds. In other words,

**"Anyone who says 'yes' to Star Wars is, in the world's eyes, saying 'yes' to the militarization of space."**

SDI opens a new phase of the defensive and offensive arms race.

In a position paper on "SDI and Europe's Interests," the SPD points out not only the military, economic and technological, but also the political drawbacks to SDI. SDI is not merely a research program whose participants can absolve themselves of responsibility for the program's consequences. The SPD paper noted the former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger "has stressed that West Europeans must realize it is a question not only of participating in research, but also of sharing political responsibility for SDI development and deployment. Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN), the new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has stated that West Europeans must not believe they can partake of the fruits of a technological program without sharing political responsibility for the overall program.

"It is thus quite clear," concludes the SPD, "that even at this stage it is no longer a question of participation in research activities, but of whether the Europeans want to share responsibility for the political and military consequences of the development and deployment of strategic space defense. A share in research is merely an incentive to gain Europeans' support for the overall concept. Anyone who now says 'yes' to SDI is, in the eyes of the world, saying 'yes' to an American space weapons program and hence to the militarization of space."

SPD arms control and *Ostpolitik* expert Egon Bahr has warned of SDI's implications for the Federal Republic's status as a non-nuclear, non-strategic power. The prospect arises for the first time of Bonn controlling strategic weapons—that is, weapons directed against the strategic capability of the Soviet Union. "We must be clear that a German participation in SDI would mean adopting the aim of developing strategic weapons. We would bear the responsibility, regardless of whether we would subsequently have direct control over these weapons or not," Bahr wrote in May, recommending a clear "no" to SDI.

While the opposition parties—SPD and Greens—are both clearly opposed to SDI, the Bonn government itself is split, with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (of the small Free Democratic Party) echoing French objections to SDI and influencing other members of the cabinet to become more wary of its political dangers.

The technological-industrial case to be made for SDI is as doubtful as the political argument. Germans tend to be highly skeptical as to the eventual "civilian spin-off" benefits of the military space research program. Research and Technology Minister Horst Riesenhuber told *Der Spiegel* in September that "SDI cannot be justified on the grounds of civilian research policy. It must be justifiable in terms of our alliance and strategic policy."

The conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* editorialized that "to expect non-military technological advances from SDI is to overestimate its civilian spin-off" and estimated that it would cost 10 times as much to develop civilian innovations through military R&D programs like SDI than to use R&D funds directly for non-military ends.

But the most cogent and forceful German criticisms of SDI are not necessarily a prelude to its rejection. Rather, they can be seen as strengthening the West German bargaining position aimed at extracting concessions from the U.S. in the terms of SDI contracts, whether between governments or with major industrial firms like Dornier, Zeiss, AEG and Siemens. To gain German political support for SDI, the U.S. may be prepared to make concessions to German hi-tech firms concerning R&D funds, profits, new military and civilian products and markets.

In September a delegation of West German industrialists, government officials and researchers headed by Kohl's advisor

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# INSHORT

Beth Maschinot

## The truly starving

Question: when is a famine victim not worthy of food aid? Answer: when he or she is a malnourished Ethiopian not quite ready to drop dead.

That seems to be the position of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which, in a study widely circulated to agencies in Ethiopia, minimizes the continuing effect of this country's food shortfall, reports Steve Askin from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The report purports to calculate the amount of food Ethiopian famine victims will need next year. But it explicitly excludes the "supplementary food needed to restore seriously undernourished people to their previous nutritional status." For those who are to get food, USAID bases its proposed ration on a starvation diet with less than 1,800 calories a day. World Health Organization data indicate that this is enough to keep someone alive sitting still, but far too little to sustain an active person. According to a UN food expert, a peasant subsisting on this minimal diet probably wouldn't have enough energy to effectively plant and harvest next year's crop, and would then be doomed to further years of dependence on food aid.

The U.S. also finds itself in the old position of refusing to give any aid to those it says have been victimized by an inhumane government policy: the 500,000 Ethiopians resettled from the ecologically fragile, war-ravaged northern highlands.

In this country, resettlement is an extremely sensitive political issue. U.S. officials have charged repeatedly that many resettles were moved by force. Some human rights groups say the same, and charge that many have died, too. UN-Ethiopia Emergency Operations Chief Kurt Jansson says most moved voluntarily and eagerly, though he agreed there was coercion in some areas. Officials of many U.S. and European aid groups here agree with Jansson. "But," argued a senior UN Food and Agriculture Organization official, "whatever conclusions one reaches on this question, there is no reason to punish the people who have been moved and may need help." The U.S. government, which says severe food shortages plague resettles, has refused to let them have any of its food. The net result is that USAID estimates Ethiopia will need 775,000 tons of food aid in 1986, while the Ethiopian government—with UN support—is appealing for more than a million tons.

This may sound like an abstract numbers game, but the human consequences are devastating, says Catholic Relief Services representative Frank Carlin. The U.S., Ethiopia's biggest but least friendly food donor, has promised to meet a third of the 1986 need. If, however, the low USAID estimate becomes the basis for deciding what the need is, relief groups' efforts are likely to fall short, warned Carlin, and will "have to apply triage, deciding who will live and who will die." Jansson is less apocalyptic on emergency food and believes that the U.S. will ultimately reach consensus with other donors, probably upping its commitment. But he is disturbed by U.S. refusal to provide any long-term development aid for this country. Unless donors help Ethiopia rebuild its agricultural systems, famine will reoccur, he warned. And reconstruction will be difficult, he added, if the world's richest nation refuses to chip in.

But no response was available from behind the well-guarded fence surrounding the American embassy compound in Ethiopia. An embassy spokesman said that any public comment would endanger the already precarious relations between the U.S. and Ethiopia's Marxist military government.

## Help from Your Honor

The Justice Department got its first conviction in the Alabama "voter fraud" cases on October 16 when an all-white jury found Spiver Gordon, a Greene County civil rights leader and board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), guilty on four counts of abusing the absentee ballot voting process. But observers are crying "coercion" as Federal District Court Judge E.B. Haltom applied some well-placed pressure on an undecided jury.

The jury first acquitted Gordon on 15 counts of voter fraud, but were undecided on seven others. In fact, they told Haltom they were "hopelessly deadlocked" after three days of deliberations. The judge then gave them two days off—sequestering them—and demanded that they return with a verdict on the third day. The jury returned with a guilty verdict on four counts, but asked

for clemency for Gordon. Judge Haltom was not moved. "I am the one who will determine the appropriate punishment in any of the cases over which I preside," he told the jury. Gordon is due to be sentenced on November 14. Each count carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

Lawrence Wofford of the Campaign for a New Selma says that voting activists in Alabama's black belt are "disgusted" by the verdict. "To be honest, I didn't think an all-white jury would have acquitted Gordon on any counts, much less 14. But they definitely were deadlocked on the other counts when the judge abused judicial discretion and ordered them to deliberate further. We just wish that the jurors would have held onto their beliefs." Gordon is planning an appeal, and some of the jurors have told reporters from the *Birmingham News* and other media that they hope his conviction will be overturned during an appeals trial.

## Up with Labour?

Britain's Labour Party may be beginning to fight back from the demoralizations of the last few years—and using what was designed to be a Conservative Party tool to do so. The 1984 Trade Union Act, which requires unions to vote on the maintenance of political funds for supporting electoral candidates, was engineered by the Tories to de-politicize the unions. All opinion polls pointed to a resounding defeat for the political levy in most of Britain's trade unions, which would have been a sure sign that Labour—the major recipient of the funds—had truly lost its clout.

Since March of this year, the unions have been voting, one by one, on the political funds question. And to nearly everyone's surprise, of the 15 unions that have completed voting, the great majority favored the fund by overwhelming margins. The railway workers voted 90 percent in favor, the electricians 84 percent, the printing union 75 percent and the giant GMB (covering a wide range of occupations and industries) voted 90 percent for the political levy. Though only a little more than one-quarter of the union's votes are in, the trend seems strong—and very worrisome to the British government Thatcher administration. Eyes are now on Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers (TGWU). When *In These Times* went to press, reports were that TGWU members are voting overwhelmingly in favor of the levy. If the final tally shows the TGWU supporting the fund, there's likely to be more agreement with Labour's General Secretary Larry Whitty's view that the political fund initiative is one of the greatest mistakes of the Thatcher administration.

What went wrong with the Conservatives' assessment that the unionists would prefer to "contract out" of the political process before the next election? The Conservatives say their assessment wasn't wrong, but

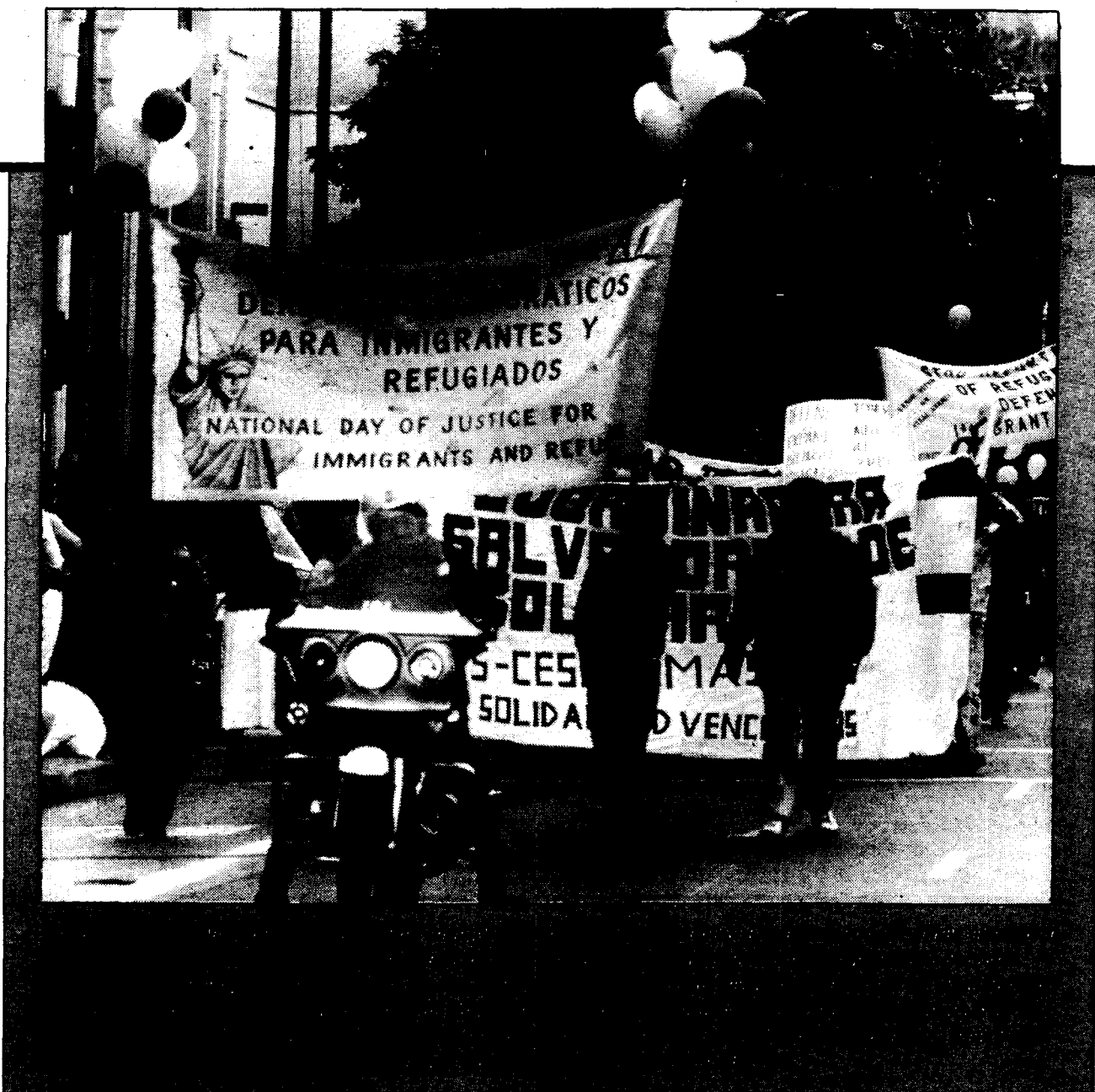
that they were given a raw deal by union leaders. They claim that most of the union leaders have disguised the fact that the bulk of the political funds usually goes to the Labour Party and that they've exaggerated the scope of the legislation, leaving unionists with the impression that necessary union activities will be cut if the funds are not okayed. But the Labour Party has a different take on the votes for the fund: there's been a sharp rise in Labour support in the last two years (up 55 percent from 39 percent in 1983) and an even stronger feeling that the Thatcher government's attempts to do away with the political fund was partisan and unfair. Labour also points out that they had a weapon in the workplace that the Conservative and Alliance parties could not touch: a strong base that allowed them to campaign one-on-one for the political fund.

## South African servant

*Diakonia* is a Greek word meaning servant. It's also the name of a vibrant and integrated ecumenical church group in Durban, South Africa. *Diakonia* has spoken against apartheid for several years—but all very much within the framework of mainstream religious values, including nonviolence. The group supports workers' rights for both black and white workers, works against resettlement plans of the Botha government and stands by striking unionists. It also publishes a bimonthly magazine, *Diakonia News*, which forthrightly calls for the dismantling of apartheid. "There can only be peace in South Africa if detentions stop, removals are halted, Group Areas are abolished, all banning orders and restrictions are lifted, all political prisoners released and exiles allowed to return without conditions, and negotiations begin with genuine representatives of all groups."

In late August, *Diakonia*'s director, Paddy Kearney, was detained under Section 29 of the South African Internal Security Act. The three-week imprisonment of Kearney followed on the heels of harassment of the past director, Wesley Mabuza. Mabuza's house was nearly burned down earlier in the year. Kearney was eventually released after a court in Natal found him wrongfully detained because of insufficient evidence.

*Diakonia*'s nonviolence runs deep—but so does its outspokenness. For this reason, the board of directors—which includes black and white representatives from the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Presbyterian, Anglican, Evangelical Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and United Congregational Churches—believes that this may be only the beginning of security police harassment. Kearney is now deciding whether to bring a case against the government to ascertain why he was wrongfully detained.





**W**HEN PHILADELPHIA POLICE dropped a bomb May 13 on a house occupied by members of a black, back-to-nature group called Move, most black leaders, in deference to the city's black mayor, W. Wilson Goode, muted their criticism of the incident. And although the bomb ignited a firestorm that incinerated 11 Move members, including five children, and destroyed 61 houses in a black, middle-class neighborhood, Goode was praised for making the best of a bad situation.

His forthright acceptance of all responsibility for the tragedy pleased editorial writers across the country and endeared him to some of the more right-wing elements of the police establishment. "That man [Goode] is an inspiration to the nation," said Los Angeles Police Chief Darryl Gates. "He's jumped on my heroes' list and, by golly, that's no long list."

But according to information emerging from a special panel appointed by Goode to determine who in fact lit the fuse on Osage Ave., that praise may have been premature. The testimony from the panel hearing is revealing that Goode, in contrast to his reputation as a master, hands-on manager, was little more than a hapless spectator during the Move siege. Goode himself testified that his subordinates misled, misinformed and disobeyed him. No longer willing to assume all the blame, Goode now says his first order on May 13 was to "put the fire out." Many of those who initially rose to his support must now reassess their position.

But even back in May, the kudos for Goode weren't universal. Some black leaders felt no constraints in expressing their outrage and dismay at the bombing. Reps. Gus Savage (D-IL), John Conyers (D-MI) and Rev. Jesse Jackson spoke out strongly against Goode's action. Conyers called it "the most violent eviction notice that's ever been given," and announced that his House subcommittee on criminal justice may investigate.

It was "brutal criminality," in Savage's opinion, and he asked, "Would he [Goode] have permitted his chief deputy and his chiefs of police and fire to commit the unprecedented barbarism if the community and Move had been white?"

#### Citizens' committees

Barely a month following the fiery confrontation, committees to investigate the deadly police action were set up by two independent citizens' groups. One was coordinated by Ron Walters, a political science professor at Howard University and a close advisor to Jackson. Calling itself the National Committee of Inquiry into the Philadelphia Crisis, the 35-member panel represented a

**"The people on Osage Ave. were members of the black middle class, but when push came to shove, they were as expendable as Move."**

wide range of political views. It held hearings on June 19 in Washington, D.C., and collected testimony from dozens of witnesses directly involved in the incident.

The other citizens' group inquiry panel was formed under the auspices of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), a black-nationalist group with a fairly strong base in Philadelphia. The RNA conducted hearings in that city on June 30 and July 7. Both groups concluded that Goode, City Managing Director Leo Brooks, Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor and Fire

Commissioner William Richmond should resign and face prosecution for criminal offenses.

Nkechi Taifa, an attorney and RNA hearing coordinator, said his group's hearings pointed to four specific areas where the four city officials bear some legal culpability: arson, negligent homicide, reckless endangerment of life and violations of the Geneva Accords of 1949, which prohibit the killing of unarmed combatants in a war-like situation.

"The Geneva Accords ruling may seem inapplicable, but dropping a bomb is an act of war," Taifa said at the hearings' conclusion. "Goode just gave sanction to the murderous violence of the police force, which all along was out to get the Move people in retaliation for a 1978 confrontation between

the water they shot from water canon trucks; that Move members were forced by police bullets to remain in the burning house; that the assault was a massacre, resolutely carried out by a police force seeking vengeance and out of control.

These independent hearings were accorded little press coverage, and a tone of ridicule tarnished the coverage they did receive. Yet the information they ferreted out was confirmed by testimony given to the 11-member panel currently investigating the Move incident.

Walters admitted the strategy of forming a citizens committee was a bit unusual, but, he said, "the idea that a municipal government would actually drop a bomb on its own citizens is so unusual, we felt it required an equally unusual response." Reac-

## PHILADELPHIA

# Goode's bad move returns to haunt him



the two groups in which a cop was killed.

According to committee members, the Philadelphia bombing wasn't completely unprecedented. Officials in Tulsa, Okla., reportedly dropped a bomb from a private plane on the city's black community during the race riots of 1921. The bomb killed 50 people and leveled the neighborhood.

"Although the circumstances are a bit different, the same principle applies in this current police bombing," explained a committee member who's a representative of the Black United Front. "This has been an attack on an entire black community because of the actions of a few who were considered less savory. It's especially poignant that Osage Ave. was so solidly middle-class. That didn't save them, did it? When push came to shove, they were just as expendable as the 'undesirable' Move members."

Both citizens' committees heard allegations that, among other things, police and fire officials used something flammable—most likely phosphorous—as an additive in

**The police bomb resulted in a fire that gutted 61 houses and left 250 homeless.**

tion to the concept of such a committee has been so favorable that many black activists are urging that it be retained as a permanent fixture in the black community.

#### Fear of criticism

As the "authorized" hearings on the Move incident have revealed, Mayor Goode was not in charge of the forces that unleashed the lethal fire power on Osage Ave. In fact, the entire operation suffered from the lack of an organized policy, a confused chain of command and faulty police intelligence.

Leo Brooks, the managing director who resigned shortly after the incident, had just returned from vacation the day before the siege. And although he was to serve as field commander at the scene, he had no hand in planning the operation. Police Commissioner Sambor either disregarded or misinterpreted Goode's instructions to keep police with "emotional ties" to the 1978 Move incident away from the scene. Such

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police were indeed on the scene, and some witnesses claim they were the primary ones shooting at Move members as they tried to escape the burning building.

Fire Commissioner William Richmond let the fire burn too long before attempting, vainly, to extinguish it. He couldn't be located to execute Goode's frantic telephoned order to "put the fire out."

Despite all of this confusion, incompetence and destruction, most black leadership—and white leadership, for that matter—refused to condemn the bombing. How has it happened, asked Rep. Savage, that "the black community, our nation's most consistent and persistent conscience, refused to scream in mass protest over this incident?" Answering his own question, Savage said black leaders' reluctance to blast Goode stems from their fear "that such criticism would make all black mayors more vulnerable to racist attacks."

"Certainly, we must not let our harsh criticism of black mayors give the impression that we have not gained some benefits from their election," he continued. "Nevertheless, these benefits are not sufficient for the price of silence in the face of what happened in Philadelphia. The progress we have made is endangered when any black in a high position has as his or her

primary goal the intention of merely proving that he or she can run things as well as the white predecessor—which usually means for selfish and inane purposes."

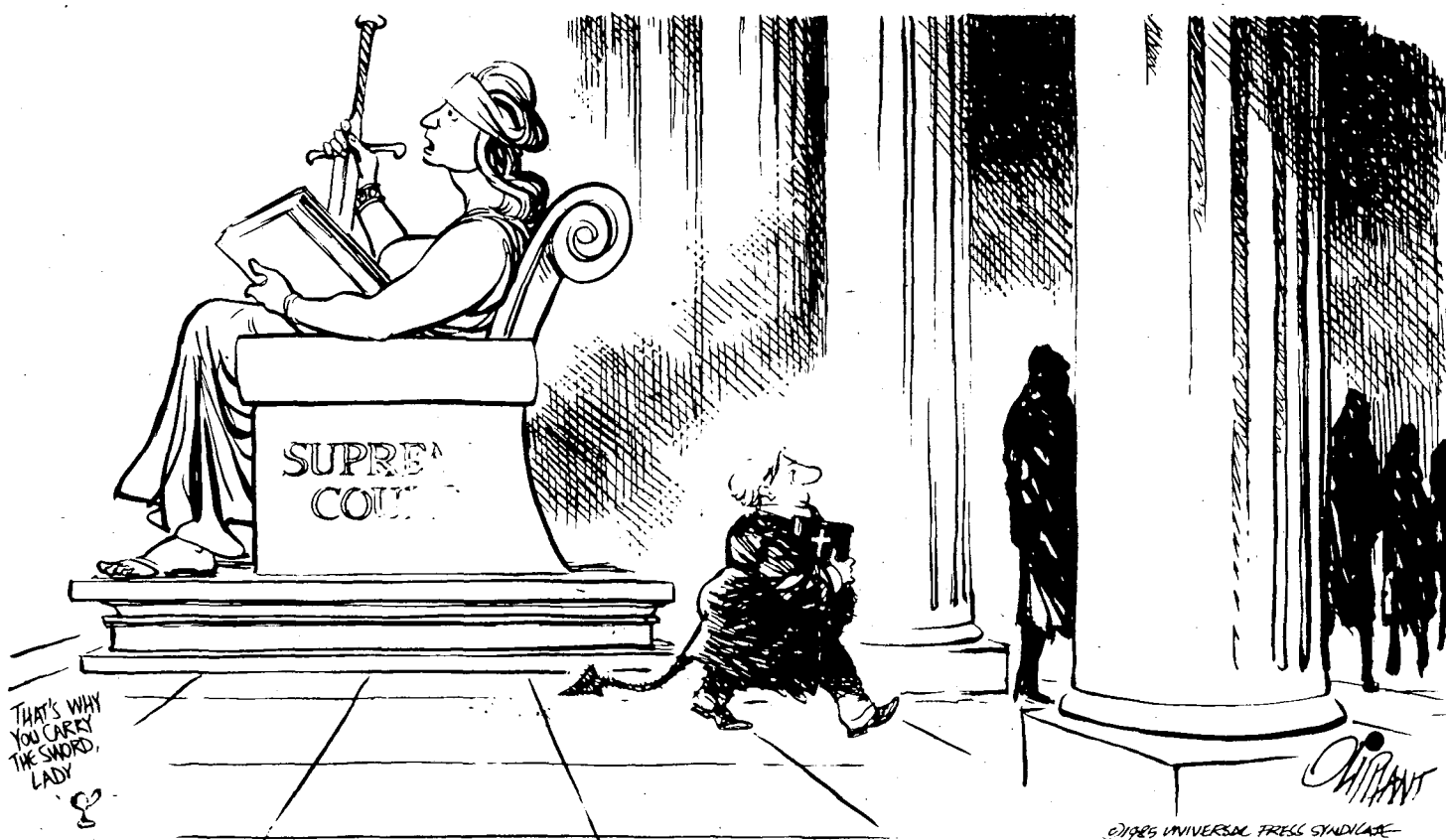
Louise James, mother of one Move member killed in the incident and owner of the building that housed the group, accused Goode of "cold-blooded murder" and bitterly complained of black leaders' silence on the issue. "Everybody in that house was charred beyond recognition and knowing this, this man, this fiend, this mayor of murder, said he'd do it again," James said during recent hearings.

She guessed that the reason black leaders have remained largely silent is because of the media portrayal of Move as a violent organization. "Over and over again, you have heard how Move members were violent terrorists," she said. "But that's just another lie told by the system to cover up their violence, their act of terrorism, because Move didn't drop a bomb on Wilson Goode's house. Goode dropped a bomb on Move's house."



## COURTS

## Reversing judicial philosophy



WELCOME BACK, JUSTICE BURGER... HI, THERE, JUSTICE POWELL... GOOD DAY, JUSTICE MARSHALL... HELLO, JUSTICE BLACKMUN... HELLO, JUSTICE FALWELL - JUSTICE FALWELL!!??

By Rex B. Wingerter

WASHINGTON, D.C.

**I**F THE REAGAN WHITE HOUSE AND THE New Right has its way, the expansion of civil rights through court order will become a thing of the past. A complete agenda is set for correcting "past errors," says former Associate Deputy Attorney General Bruce Fein. It includes overturning the Supreme Court's decision permitting abortion, abolishing affirmative action, eroding laws against race and sex discrimination, weakening First Amendment protections, undermining the

separation between church and state and narrowing the rights of the criminally accused. The administration's legal ideologies, led by Attorney General Edwin Meese, are on a crusade to reverse the judicial philosophy that has guided modern American civil rights laws for the past 30 years.

In his first term, Reagan named 129 judges to the federal district, trial court level, and 31 to the appeals court. By 1988 he will most likely have named more than half of the country's 744 federal judges—a feat accomplished before only by Presidents Roosevelt and Eisenhower.

The administration has concentrated much of the screening and decision-making process of judicial candidates in the hands of the White House in an effort to insure ideological conformity among its judicial appointments. "Ronald Reagan tests his judicial nominees for conformity to official dogma more thoroughly than any other president ever has," says Lawrence H. Tribe, professor of constitutional law at Harvard Law School. Each candidate's writings and teachings are rigorously scrutinized. Supporting gun control or making contributions to Planned Parenthood is reason to be dropped from judicial consideration.

The administration also asks judicial nominees how they would vote on legal issues the New Right has targeted for reversal. Several prominent Republican women candidates admitted to National Public Radio that they were directly asked how they would rule on abortion cases. All said they would be obliged to follow Supreme Court decisions upholding women's right to abortion—and none of the candidates was nominated by the administration for a judgeship.

After an exhaustive study of Reagan's first-term appointments, political scientist Sheldon Goldman concluded that the administration's litmus test has "resulted in the most consistent ideological or policy-oriented screening of judicial candidates since the first term of Franklin Roosevelt."

The administration justifies its drive to pick conservative judges by arguing that President Carter systematically recruited an unprecedented number of liberals to the federal bench. Jonathan Rose, head of the Justice Department's Office of Legal Policy, argued that "the number of [Carter] appointments were so massive that we would have been derelict in our responsibility if we did not pay some attention to our obligation to try to produce some

**Reagan's record of black appointments is the worst since Eisenhower's, when none were appointed.**

semblance of balance." Carter appointed 258 federal judges that, according to Professor Goldman, in 1981 represented approximately 40 percent of the federal bench. Most appointees were "liberals or moderates."

Goldman fears that the administration's conservative judicial agenda will exclude large numbers of minorities and underprivileged people from participating in the judicial system. The Carter administration "made the most conscious effort in the history of federal judicial selection to place women, black Americans and Americans of Hispanic origin on the federal bench," says Goldman. Carter appointed 28 blacks, 29 women (including six black women) and 14 Hispanics (including one woman) to lifetime federal district court posts. To the federal appeals court Carter appointed nine black jurists (including one woman), two Hispanics and one Asian-American. It was an unprecedented number of minorities appointed to the second most powerful judicial bench in the nation.

In contrast, the Reagan administration's first-term appointments tallied one black, 12 women, seven Hispanics and one Asian to the 129 federal district court openings. Of the 31 federal appeals appointees there is only one woman, one black, one Hispanic and no Asians. With regard to black appointments, Reagan's record is the worst since the Eisenhower administration, when no blacks were appointed.

The Reagan administration defends its low minority recruitment record by saying that few non-whites adhere to the requisite conservative judicial philosophy. Yet the consequence of this selection process is far more important than producing an integrated ideal of gender and race on the federal bench.

It affects the distribution of justice in the U.S. Minorities overwhelmingly receive a disproportionately stiffer sentence for comparable crimes. Forty-six percent of the individuals currently on death row are non-white. Ninety percent of all men executed for rape in the U.S. since 1930 have been black. A 1983 Rand Corporation study on the justice system found that blacks and Latinos were sent to prison more often and received longer terms than whites convicted of similar crimes and with similar criminal records. Not only did minorities receive harsher sentences, but also they were not paroled as early as whites.

The Rand study suggested that such disparities partly could be explained by the fact that judges are more favorably disposed to the familiar, and fear or become frustrated with the unfamiliar. The greater the "cultural distance" between the judge and defendant, the greater the tendency for emotional predilection to influence the decision.

Indeed, political scientists Jon Gottschall found that among the black males Carter appointed to the federal appeals bench, 79 percent cast their votes in support of criminal defendants and prisoners as compared to only 53 percent for Carter's white male appointees. Black males also supported sex discrimination claimants more often (65 percent) than did white males (57 percent) among Carter's appointees. Gottschall also found that the white women Carter appointed to the circuit courts voted more liberally than their male counterparts on issues of sexual and racial equality.

How is the left responding to the Reagan judiciary, which threatens to politicize and polarize the U.S. justice system? People for the American Way has launched a Campaign for an Independent Judiciary, and the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild have opposed actively the Reagan judiciary. And since individual state legislatures have the authority to enact those federal constitutional protections that the New Right wants rescinded, they might be persuaded to focus on strengthening and expanding their civil rights and liberties laws. Under the Reagan federal judiciary, the phrase "states' rights" could take on a new meaning.

**Rex B. Wingerter** lives in Washington, D.C., and received a J.D. from the Antioch School of Law.

## Reagan chooses "right" judges

How Reagan appointees can dramatically transform the philosophical direction of a court is best shown by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Because it hears more controversies than any other appeals court over the constitutionality of government regulations and federal laws, the D.C. Circuit often has been described as the nation's second most powerful court. For nearly two decades, it spearheaded some of the most progressive judicial opinions in the nation, including broadening the rights of criminal defendants, championing the rights of the mentally ill and strengthening pro-tenant, consumer and environmental laws.

But death and retirement are giving Reagan the chance to create a conservative majority. Already he has picked three members of the 12-judge court, and three new appointees due to be confirmed in the next few months will give the administration six solid votes. Liberals can now only count on five votes and one moderate "swing vote."

Slated for confirmation to the D.C. Circuit are prominent conservatives: former New York Senator James L. Buckley, former Justice Department official Laurence H. Silberman and Office of Management and Budget General Counsel Michael J. Horowitz.

Buckley's judicial philosophy is unclear because he practiced law for only four years after graduating law school in 1949. But his politics are decidedly right-

leaning. Before taking his present job as president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, he was in charge of foreign military arms sales for the State Department. He ran on the Conservative Party ticket when elected to the U.S. Senate.

Buckley was appointed to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, but resistance from New York Sen. Lowell Weicker and a statement from the New York City Bar Association that Buckley had not "demonstrated that he possesses the professional background and experience required for the position" forced the White House to put him in D.C., where no home-state senators could oppose him.

Laurence Silberman's Senate confirmation waited weeks until the FBI completed its investigation of his conduct while he was chief legal officer to a San Francisco bank that was fined \$2.25 million for failure to report nearly \$4 billion in cash transactions.

Michael J. Horowitz initiated many of the administration's right-wing attacks, including those on the Legal Services Corporation. Horowitz attempted to weaken the Voting Rights Act and sought to limit severely awards of attorney fees to lawyers bringing discrimination suits against the federal government. He has waged a bitter war against public interest lawyers, contending that the expansion of legal "rights" is an "undemocratic" transfer of power to lawyers and that public interest lawyers care more about advancing their liberal ideology than the interests of their clients.

If confirmed, Buckley, Silberman and Horowitz will join fellow Reagan appointees Robert Bork, Antonin Scalia and Kenneth Starr, who already have swung the D.C. Circuit Court to the right. —R.B.W.



# HI-TECH unions

This is the third in a three-part series on California's Silicon Valley.

By Joan Walsh

SAN JOSE, CA

**A**N ARTICLE ON LABOR UNIONS in Silicon Valley could conceivably be quite short. No union has ever won a representation election at a computer or semiconductor firm here. No union is currently waging an organizing campaign. End of story.

Yet organized labor casts a large shadow over the Valley's unorganized microelectronics industry, despite its minimal in-plant presence. Industry leaders blame union sympathizers for every blemish on their public image, from rising local concern over toxic pollution to anxiety over layoffs and pay cuts in the current microelectronics slump.

The threat of unionization has also created a sub-industry of human resources and personnel managers hired to create a union-free workplace—and monitor it in case pro-union sentiment manages to penetrate those defenses. Keeping its workforce unorganized is one rationale for the real and mythical perquisites of Silicon Valley employment. Whether that means the higher wages and no-layoffs policies of the larger firms or the friendly, flexible approach of smaller operations. Mobility has always substituted for job security in the culture here.

Employees believed that if they couldn't move up in their hi-tech firm, they would move out. And to workers sold on the notion that their industry represents the country's economic future, unions have come to seem an anachronism. When Atari fought a union drive with the slogan "Don't let Silicon Valley become Detroit," it was speaking to—if not for—workers throughout the industry.

Of course, the freedom and flexibility of hi-tech employment has been mainly myth for low-paid production workers, most of them women, chiefly Asian and Hispanic immigrants. But in the current recession, the myth is being proven a lie for those workers and a half-truth for people employed in other hi-tech sectors. Right now job mobility means shuttling between temporary employment agencies and the unemployment line for many people. And the layoffs, forced "vacations" and paycuts that have caused hardship throughout the Valley have provoked comparisons with—that's right—Detroit. Except there are no unions.

Industry and union observers agree that the current microelectronics slump represents a young industry coming to maturity, not obsolescence. And that maturity, labor organizers say, should represent an opening for unions.

"Unions have always resisted organizing here because they didn't know what firms were going to be around," says Peter Cervantes-Gautschi, who recently resigned as head of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council. "Right now the big fish are eating the little fish, and the giant fish are eating the big fish." Combine that with growing employee discontent over hi-tech's boom-bust cycles, and suddenly there seems a changed climate for union organizing.

But among Valley labor organizers there's consensus on one point: future drives can't proceed like the anemic efforts mounted in the past. Says United Electrical Workers (UE) organizer Mike Eisenschur, currently on leave from the union: "I

haven't given up my commitment to organizing the electronics industry. But I'll only go back when we can engineer the kind of campaign capable of prevailing against incredible odds."

And Eisenschur and others say that takes a tremendous commitment of resources by major unions—a commitment everyone likens to the CIO's efforts to organize the auto and steel industries in the '30s. And one that labor has so far been unable or unwilling to make.

## Classic mismatch

The best-known Valley organizing drive was mounted against Atari in 1982-83, after several workers approached Glaziers Union Local 1621 about organizing the firm. The 650-member local went after the 3,500 Atari workers energetically, but it was a classic mismatch. The Glaziers had to contend not only with the usual ethnic and language barriers among the workers, but also with Atari's corporate organization, which spread the workforce out in 30 different buildings around the Valley.

Still, Glaziers organizer Ed Jones believes the union had a fighting chance. "We'd signed up far more workers than [the 30 percent] we needed to hold an election, and people were listening to what we had to say," he recalls. Then Atari unleashed its ultimate weapon—moving its production facilities to Taiwan and Hong

## DOWN IN THE VALLEY

Unions have to demonstrate to hi-tech workers "their ability to win gains" — a difficult task in a period characterized by union concessions.

Kong. The organizing drive proceeded against the backdrop of thousands of layoffs. When the election took place the unit had shrunk to 179 workers in Atari's coin-operated games division.

"And management was telling them they were no longer production workers, they were technicians, and they'd be the core staff when Atari turned around—they'd have robots working for them," Jones says. Workers voted down the Glaziers 143-29. Four months later Atari closed that plant as well.

UE has had the longest presence in the Valley, starting with an organizing committee launched by workers at two plants in 1971, and ending, at least temporarily, in the middle of 1984. At its height the UE effort reached into eight semiconductor firms. But its chief target from 1978-83 was National Semiconductor, which employed 10,000 people.

UE's drive at National combined in-plant organizing with building community presence. Its organizing committee published a newsletter on workplace concerns, from pay and benefits to race discrimination. In 1979 it mounted an underground campaign for a cost-of-living increase—workers put stickers demanding the raise all over the plant—and it took credit for the 35-cents-an-hour increase National granted.

The next year the union decided to make its activities more public. It sent Eisenschur to assist the organizing committee, and its core supporters began identifying themselves. National employee and UE backer David Bacon, a former United Farmworkers (UFW) organizer, took a high profile in efforts to publicize workplace hazards in the electronics industry—a crusade led by Pat Lamborn, a former National worker who left to form the Electronics Committee on Occupational Safety and Health (ECOSH), which metamorphosed into the union-funded Santa Clara COSH.

But UE's decision to go public coincided with an industry-wide recession, which dampened the enthusiasm for organizing. And while National temporarily held to a "no-layoffs" policy, it trimmed its workforce by strictly enforcing workplace rules. Suddenly, infractions like lateness, insubordination or the failure to use safety equipment became grounds for suspension or firing. In response, the union moved job security and unfair dismissals to the top of its agenda, and tried to get several fired workers reinstated. It managed to convince the Santa Clara County Human Relations Commission to hold a hearing on discriminatory firings at National, paying special attention to charges of race discrimination.

But the same process that was trimming the workforce was also weeding out UE supporters at National. Four prominent union backers, including Bacon, were fired for alleged disciplinary infractions. National Labor Relations Board complaints got nowhere. The UE Organizing Committee withered away—many of its members don't even work in hi-tech anymore, victims of either industry blacklisting or personal burnout.

## "It wasn't enough."

UE veterans believe their campaigns offer lessons for future Valley organizing drives. Ethnic and racial divisions were formidable, but the biggest barrier to unionization "is workers' lack of confidence in their power to prevail over the monolith of management," says Eisenschur.

Adds Bacon: "We had a lot of success in gaining popular support, but we had trouble turning it into election support."

Building that confidence would seem to require that unions provide resources that make them a credible counterforce to management. "UE gave us more than other unions, but it just wasn't enough," Bacon says. "And I think there were some forces even in UE that thought it couldn't be done."

That's certainly been the conventional wisdom. And yet unions increasingly have a stake in challenging that wisdom. Non-union hi-tech ventures are drawing jobs and capital away from unionized industries, and one lure is cheaper wages and higher profits. Hi-tech has become the nation's largest manufacturing industry, yet its production workers make an average of \$2 an hour less than workers in other sectors. Semiconductor workers make only 57 percent of what auto and steelworkers do.

Some unions have recognized they have a stake in organizing hi-tech workers—

chiefly, the few that are already inside hi-tech firms, like the Communication Workers of America (CWA). With the breakup of AT&T, whose workers CWA represents, the union has lost members to layoffs. And the fierce telecommunications competition the AT&T breakup spawned gives non-union firms more incentive to stay that way—and CWA more incentive to organize. The union has already targeted long-distance carriers MCI and Sprint. And earlier this year CWA President Morton Barr announced the union would go after IBM, AT&T's chief competitor in information systems, focusing on its Rolm manufacturing division. But while Barr's statement made the *San Jose Mercury News*—Rolm has a plant here—such a drive is far from underway.

Although union organizers agree that cracking hi-tech requires a major commitment of the labor movement's resources, some say frankly that it also requires a change in labor's approach, and a change in its image. "You can't organize people who don't want to be in a union," says CWA organizer Buck Bagot, and for a long time that has ruled out hi-tech workers.

The current recession "has taken the gleam out of a lot of people's eyes—they no longer think they can rise endlessly in hi-tech," Bagot notes. But he thinks organized labor "has to get its house in order" before it can make broad inroads into the Valley.

Rand Wilson of the Massachusetts-based Hi-Tech Workers Network agrees. A former CWA organizer, Wilson has put together local conferences and educational events to publicize hi-tech workplace hazards and employment practices. "But I think we've scared personnel managers more than we've built any in-plant base," Wilson says. "I'd be loathe to suggest we pass out [authorization] cards anywhere—there's not been the necessary groundwork done and there's not majority support."

Wilson believes unions have to demonstrate to hi-tech workers "their ability to win gains," a difficult task in a period characterized by union concessions. But labor must also prove its commitment to "building new organizations that articulate the issues these workers face, not just trying to bring in a new bargaining unit." And some unions, he says, are ambivalent about organizing people "whose votes they can't count on at election time."

The AFL-CIO's recent self-critical report, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," listed organizing the unorganized as the labor movement's top priority for the '80s. But taking on Silicon Valley and the hi-tech sector requires a commitment unheard of today, largely because most unions are busy "fighting defensive battles," Eisenschur notes.

But former UFW organizing director Marshall Ganz, completing a survey of union organizing in California, believes labor is overestimating the obstacles to hi-tech organizing, and underestimating its importance. "The same thing people say about Silicon Valley workers—they migrate from job to job, many don't speak English, it's an industry that might be automated—were the reasons people said we could never organize farmworkers," Ganz notes.

"There's a whole new manufacturing industry central to California, and it's the least unionized," he says. "I don't think the question is why workers aren't organizing themselves, but why unions aren't in there organizing them. It's a question of leadership—it isn't that complicated."

Research assistance by Bill Kransdorf.





Houston Mayor Kathy Whitmire has been labeled "pro-homosexual."

## TEXAS

# Issues of morality dominate Houston's political races

By Bob Sablatura

### HOUSTON

**A**S THE RACE FOR MAYOR AND city council heats up, morality has taken the forefront as the prime issue before this city's voters. Spurred on by the defeat of the controversial referendum on gay rights in January, opponents of Mayor Kathy Whitmire and eight "progressive" city council members have launched an all-out assault on the city's leadership, labeling the mayor and the council members as "pro-homosexual."

The January referendum was called through a petition drive by anti-homosexual groups in an effort to overturn two city council actions that would have protected gays in city jobs from discrimination based on their sexual orientation. The council actions were successfully overturned by an 82-to-18 percent margin, in an election that set a record as having the largest turnout of voters in city history.

The opposition has filed a slate of eight council candidates for the November 5 election and has endorsed former Mayor Louie Welch in his bid to regain the mayor's seat after an 11-year absence from public office. The slate, which will be identified on the ballot as the Straight Slate, is the product of Campaign for Houston, one of several anti-homosexual groups organized last year for the purpose of defeating the January gay rights referendum. The candidates on the Straight Slate call for a return to traditional family values and vow to make Houston the number one family city in America.

At the top of the slate's hit list is Mayor Kathy Whitmire, who is facing her toughest battle since taking office four years ago. Welch, her opponent, was prompted by anti-homosexual groups and business leaders to run for the office after the defeat of the January referendum. Although he is not officially a Straight Slate member, the slate has endorsed him and includes him in all of their campaign literature. When asked about the endorsement on a recent television debate, Welch responded that the endorsement was only one of several he has received, but went on to say that there are a lot of fine people on the slate and "I intend to vote for several of them."

Welch, who was president of the Hous-

ton Chamber of Commerce at the time of the January vote, has close ties to the Campaign for Houston. During the referendum, the chamber came out against the gay rights measures, and Welch was vocal in his opposition to them.

In addition to calling for a return to family values, the Straight Slate is also advocating a tough city policy to stop the spread of AIDS in Houston. Their proposals include the closing of sexually-oriented businesses such as gay bath houses, where they believe the AIDS virus is transmitted. They also advocate issuing city health cards to persons employed in several fields where they come into contact with the public, such as food handlers, medical and dental technicians, blood bank employees and child care attendants.

O.J. Striegler, a Straight Slate candidate for city council, believes this type of action is only prudent. "A basic rule of medicine," he said, "is that people with contagious diseases should not be allowed in these areas."

Striegler also believes that strong council action is the only way to overcome strong gay opposition. He cites the problems of city health officials in San Francisco, where, according to Striegler, the city health director was fired because of his efforts to close down gay bath houses.

"We have had 202 people in Houston die from AIDS in the last two years. It seems sensible to do this until we have this thing under control," said Striegler. Although admitting that he was unsure whether Houston had any gay bath houses, he added, "If we do, we should shut them down."

Although the issue of morality is dominating the election season, many political observers do not believe it is enough of an Achilles' heel to cost Whitmire the mayor's race.

Bob Stein, a political science professor at Rice University, believes that Whitmire and the eight city council members are safe from defeat. "Our polls have shown that the voters in the January referendum are not going to hold Whitmire and the council members responsible," he said. Stein believes that Whitmire has been able to defuse the morality issue by broadening it, making the issue one of anti-pornography rather than one of gay rights.

Since the beginning of the Whitmire ad-

ministration, sexually oriented businesses have been a topic with which the city council has had to deal. Many neighborhoods have been screaming for help in dealing with sex shops and nude modeling studios in their areas. In an effort to control these businesses, an ordinance was passed several years ago that regulates their locations. Recently, Whitmire also called for, and received, an ordinance forcing operators of peep shows to pay a large city fee for a license to operate their booths. City officials have estimated that since the ordinance almost a fourth of the peep show booths have closed down.

Striegler believes the council has not done enough. He wants to see tougher restrictions on the locations of sexually oriented businesses—to keep them out of neighborhoods and away from schools and churches. He also would like an ordinance regulating their visual advertising.

"We are one of the largest pornography centers in the country," said Striegler, "and we need to put some real teeth in the laws to stop it."

In addition to the high exposure of the morality issue, the gay rights defeat has changed Houston politics in another way. During the past 10 years the Gay Political Caucus (GPC) enjoyed a high profile in city politics. Each election year, most major candidates have sought the GPC endorsement. After meeting with the candidates, the organization's screening committee would issue recommendations that would be ratified by the general membership. On election day, the GPC would issue a slate card to all its members, reminding them of the organization's choices.

This year, however, no major candidate has come forward seeking the gay endorsement, and seeing that the GPC endorsement could be a political liability in 1985, the organization did not issue the annual



Former Mayor Louie Welch is endorsed for mayor on the "Straight Slate."

slate cards, choosing not to endorse any candidates.

This raises the question of whether the political power of Houston gays has been dealt a major setback. Gay voting in the city has traditionally been estimated at around 120,000, yet due to the poor showing in the January referendum, many observers have lowered their estimates. Stein believes gay voting strength to be less than one-fourth of previous estimates.

"It's hard enough to estimate black and Hispanic voting strength, so you can imagine the difficulty of estimating gay strengths. Based on past elections, I don't believe it's any higher than 25,000," Stein said.

Whatever their strength, gays have found themselves to be the targets of considerable verbal abuse in this campaign, and gay organizations are laying low until the elections are over.

Bob Sablatura is a Houston-based journalist who reports on city politics.

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## CENTRAL AMERICA

## Tracking the Pastora bomber

By William Gasperini

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

**I**N A REMOTE SPOT ON THE SAN JUAN River that forms the border between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, near a short, gravel-covered airstrip, stand several half-destroyed wooden shacks. Small lean-tos have also been built along the strip to form shelter for 50 Sandinista soldiers now occupying the site.

Yet the tranquility of this place, known as "La Penca," is deceptive. Bursts of rifle fire erupt periodically from anti-Sandinista *contras* across the narrow river. And for the past two years, La Penca has witnessed heavy fighting as Nicaraguan troops battled to wrest control of the isolated spot from *contras* from the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance, or ARDE.

But La Penca is best known as the site of what has been called the "darkest day" for journalism in Central America. It was in one of these collapsing shacks that a powerful bomb exploded on May 30, 1984, as ARDE leader Eden Pastora was giving a night-time press conference for journalists who had traveled up from San Jose, Costa Rica's capital, and crossed the river.

Three journalists died and 20 were severely wounded in the blast. Among the wounded was a man who called himself Per Anker Hansen and said he worked for the "Europa" news agency in Paris. Hansen was taken along with the other wounded to the nearest hospital after the explosion, and even granted an interview to a local radio station. The following morning, he rode back to San Jose in a taxi and vanished. Police soon discovered that Hansen's passport had been stolen and "Europa" did not exist.

"Hansen" thus became the prime suspect in the bombing, and the subject of an exhaustive investigation launched by Costa Rica-based American journalists Tony Avirgan and Martha Honey. Funded by grants from the American Newspaper Guild, the World Press Freedom Committee and the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists, their investigation has taken them to three continents, through hundreds of interviews and along a trail that reads like a master spy novel.

In a 150-page report Avirgan (who was seriously wounded in the bombing) and Honey implicate the CIA and the main *contra* group the FDN in the bombing, through a sort of "dirty tricks" group in the FDN that included Cuban exiles in Miami.

"Hansen," according to the report, is a Libyan named Amac Galil who was hired to plant the bomb with the goal of eliminating Pastora and make it appear the Sandinistas were responsible. In 1984 Pastora had become an obstacle to CIA efforts at uniting the two *contra* groups. The mercurial ex-Sandinista resisted unity because the FDN is led by his former enemies, officers of Somoza's National Guard.

The report goes a step further: the bombing was to be the first in a series of incidents, including possible attacks on U.S. property or assassinations of officials in Costa Rica and Honduras, all intended to implicate the Sandinistas, boost support for the *contra* cause and possibly trigger a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. Most significant, the report also states some Costa Rican officials knew of the plot, helped Galil escape and sought to divert the subsequent official investigation. The killer, who carried a large metallic TV case containing the bomb, also had a female accomplice.

U.S. officials quickly denied any CIA or local involvement after the couple released the report, and rejected the charge of foot-dragging or outright negligence in the official inquiry. The U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica went so far as to denounce

## IN THE WORLD

ARDE *contra* crossing the San Juan River in an area of heavy fighting

the report on television, calling Avirgan and Honey "traitors."

After the bombing last year, press reports and U.S. officials claimed the Sandinistas were responsible for the assassination attempt, although no evidence has ever been uncovered pointing to the Nicaraguan government. The news team also concludes that the Sandinistas had little reason to want Pastora killed, due to the divisions he was causing between the *contra* groups.

According to the report, the CIA recruited Galil in Chile in 1984 after "numerous maneuvers by CIA officers, the FDN,

elements within ARDE and Cuban exiles in Miami." His nationality provided perfect cover, the report states, because if captured or killed the assumption would be that he was working for Libyan leader Muammar Kaddafi. The CIA reportedly provided \$50,000 for the operation, passed to Galil through the FDN. For its part, the FDN vehemently denies any connection to the incident, calling the Avirgan-Honey report "yellow journalism" and the U.S. journalists "Sandinista agents."

Much of the evidence in the case comes from an FDN dissident known as "David,"

who supplied information to the news couple through a go-between called "Carlos." The two had a chance encounter early in the year in a San Jose bar, when David told Carlos of a "rightwing" terrorist group operating in Central America. David said he broke with the FDN out of "disgust" saying: "These people are not just anti-Sandinistas; they are becoming millionaires by trafficking in drugs and arms, and endangering the lives of innocent people."

David reportedly told Carlos he feared for his life, and asked for help. Carlos said he did not know what to make of the request, until he read of an April 25 raid on a farm in the border region, when the Civil Guard arrested five foreign mercenaries (two Americans, two Britons and a Frenchman). The five worked with the FDN out of the farm of John Hull, an American with ties to the CIA, and in interviews they talked openly of Civil Guard and CIA involvement in *contra* attacks launched into Nicaragua.

Knowing of the investigation, Carlos offered to renew contact with David for the U.S. journalists and met him on numerous occasions in parks, hotels or on buses, asking questions by Avirgan and Honey. In mid-July, David told Carlos that Galil and his team were due back in Costa Rica to carry out further attacks. The news team informed authorities, who ordered a special watch on border crossings and key buildings. Soon after, armed men seized David and Carlos as they were meeting in a park and drove them to a camp near the border, according to the report. They managed to escape, the report says, and returned to San Jose. Officials investigating the incident had David retrace the route on which the pair had been taken.

Later, according to Avirgan, "officials told us they had learned from an informant that David had been recaptured and killed, and that the group was looking for Carlos." David was never seen or heard from again. Carlos, meanwhile, is in hiding with his family after receiving death threats.

Although David supplied much of the details contained in the report, Avirgan says many other sources corroborated the information, strengthening the conclusions the couple have drawn about the case.

Prior to the contact with David, the investigation led the U.S. news team along numerous leads that proved to be false. The most substantive was a possibility that "Hansen" was one of two Uruguayan ex-Tupamaro guerrillas, one of whom had become a police informer. The lead developed after Uruguayan exiles in Sweden "iden-

Continued on page 22

## COSTA RICA

## Economic issues heat up elections

By Michael Knell

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

**W**ITH THEIR ECONOMIC AND political future at stake, Costa Ricans are hearing what sounds like a muted echo of Ronald Reagan's campaign of 1980. The campaign for February's national election is in full swing, with Rafael Calderon of the opposition Social Christian Union Party (USC) calling for government spending cuts, reductions in state employees, help for the private sector and opposition to Nicaragua's Sandinista government.

But unlike the Reagan right, conservatives here do not advocate dismantling a social welfare system that includes nationalized health insurance, utilities, telephone, education and social security. And although denouncing the Sandinistas next door, they pointedly do not ask for an army.

Like the rain clouds shrouding San Jose

each afternoon, Costa Rica's foreign debt hangs over almost all government decisions. Costa Rica's debt is now \$4 billion—the world's highest per capita—with yearly interest payments reaching \$330 million. Industrialists and investors are nervous, but President Luis Alberto Monge has so far avoided complying with the kind of austerity measures demanded by international bankers elsewhere.

Sharpening fears is an economy that saw last year's production up by 6.6 percent, while exports—key to even partial debt repayment—fell. Officials hoped for \$1.1 billion in export revenue this year, but recent estimates show they will fall short by at least \$200 million. The political fate of Oscar Arias, presidential candidate of Monge's National Liberation Party (PLN)—Monge is forced by law to step down—is tied to the economy. For Costa Rica, with extensive services and 34 percent of the workforce on the public payroll, economic austerity could lead to unpre-

cedented upheaval.

But self-imposed—if limited—cutbacks proposed by the USC appeal to those who feel no stake in big government, primarily agribusiness, small farmers and young people. Describing Costa Rican society as "a big tree with small roots," USC strategist Constantino Urcuyo believes growth of government-run services stifles the economy. But for the PLN, his analysis echoes the "Chicago-style" economic disaster of Pinochet's Chile.

Calderon—ironically, the son of the president who introduced social security in the early '40s—is calling for "rationalization" of the public sector, combining what he says are agencies with overlapping responsibilities. He says mass firings are not in the cards, offering instead "zero growth."

"There are 7,000 vacancies every year in the public sector," Urcuyo said. "The idea is not to fill those vacancies."

In terms similar to Reagan's monetarism, the USC claims emphasis on the private sector would not mean fewer services or added unemployment. "We are not going to be cutting employees, but cutting programs," Urcuyo said.

Although assessing both parties as "centrist," Urcuyo believes the PLN is viewed by Costa Ricans as the "statist" party of an increasingly unpopular bureaucracy. On the other hand, PLN strategists would like to associate Calderon with the troubled years of the last USC government, Rodrigo

Continued on page 22



## ITALY

# U.S. is dragging its allies into a war of reprisals

By Diana Johnstone

**I**TALIANS HAVE A SPECIAL REASON FOR wanting peace in the Mideast: they believe they are close to it. But during October, the Mideast seemed closer and peace farther away than ever before.

A bloody series of events beginning with the October 1 Israeli air raid on Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) headquarters in nearby Tunisia shook the pro-Western governments of that country and of Egypt and brought down the Italian government headed by Prime Minister Bettino Craxi. Worse than the dreadful events themselves is the chilly realization that Ronald Reagan is ready to drag U.S. allies into a war of reprisals, Israeli-style, against their better judgment and against international law.

Tunisia is close to Italy. Bettino Craxi has a vacation home there and some Tunisian leaders are his friends. But Tunisia is far from Israel. Settling PLO leader Yasir Arafat's headquarters there was indeed a way of ensuring that the forces under his command could not attack Israel. Arafat has never been able either to lead "armed struggle" nor to control all those in the Palestinian diaspora who think that is what they are doing when they hijack or assassinate somebody. Arafat's potential usefulness,

in the European view, has always been that he is the Palestinian leader who could make peace with Israel.

Destroying Arafat means destroying the prospect of a negotiated peace. Israel can go on settling the West Bank of the Jordan, and perhaps, in the ensuing mayhem, parts of the East Bank as well. And the U.S. will always lend a hand.

But enraged Palestinians will turn "Rambo" for vengeance. The breakdown of international law, the absence of any peaceful recourse for the weak against the strong, the mass idleness of young males aggravated by the end of the oil boom and the massive availability of firearms can be expected to spawn tens of thousands of Rambos throughout the Mideast and the Mediterranean. This has already happened in Lebanon.

Therefore, Italian leaders must be concerned about avoiding the Lebanonization of Italy. In line with Italy's traditional policy of seeking Arab-Israeli reconciliation, Craxi has strongly backed the Jordanian-Palestinian peace initiative, personally urging Arafat (at a meeting in Tunis last December) to accept King Hussein's compromise proposal, which Arafat did on February 11.

The October 1 raid on PLO headquarters in Tunis, officially justified by Israel as a reprisal for an earlier Palestinian assassina-

tion of three Israelis—described by the *Daily Telegraph* of London as agents of the Israeli secret service MOSSAD—in Cyprus, was perceived in the region as an attack on the peace process sponsored by King Hussein. Craxi's anger was perhaps sharpened by the feeling that his peace efforts had been sabotaged by a fellow member of the Socialist International, Israeli Premier Shimon Peres.

All of Europe was shocked by the raid on Tunisia, and perhaps even more shocked when the White House called it a "legitimate act of reprisal against terrorist acts." Predictably, it took only a week for four Palestinian Rambos to grab headlines with their reprisal for the Israeli reprisal. PLO spokesmen condemned the hijacking and even hinted that the terrorists might be manipulated by MOSSAD, since only Israel could gain from an act designed to undermine Italian sympathy for the PLO.

Aboard the *Achille Lauro*, American passenger Leon Klinghoffer was evidently a passionate foe of Arab terrorists. Although handicapped by a stroke, Klinghoffer, according to crew members, heroically kicked and even bit his captors. Rambo won't put up with that. Klinghoffer was shot through the head and thrown overboard. The murder was concealed for some time.

As this became known, a struggle ensued for custody of the four terrorists. From what has been confirmed so far, it seems that Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak agreed to turn them over to Arafat's men to be judged at what is left of PLO headquarters in Tunis. It could be argued that if the PLO itself had actually brought the four Palestinians to justice, this would have strengthened Arafat's authority as a peacemaker. Yet there is reason to doubt that the PLO could have met this test.

After Italy turned down the U.S. request to extradite Abbu Abbas and the Yugoslavs helped the Italians spirit him out of the country, Reagan could not direct any more Wild West Moves. But in Egypt, where the sequence of events had set off anti-Israeli and anti-American student demonstra-

tions, the possibility arose of a movement to topple President Mubarak.

It was the Italian government that fell first. Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini resigned in protest against Abbas' release. This was a golden opportunity for Spadolini's Republican Party to win the sweepstakes—a constantly open feature of Italian politics—as the very most pro-American of Italy's pro-American parties. Spadolini, thought to covet the foreign ministry for himself, attacked Andreotti's "pro-Arab" foreign policy and said there was no space for Europe, let alone Italy, to try to mediate in the Mideast independently of the U.S. Europe can act only in partnership with the U.S., Spadolini said, recognizing that the U.S. has a special relationship with Israel that is an unchangeable fact of life.

Andreotti disagreed. "Italy is big enough and little enough, rich enough and poor enough for a role of attentive and effective interlocutor," he said. In keeping with Italian Christian Democratic values, Andreotti said Arab terrorists like all other criminals should be treated with "an appropriate dosage of justice and mercy." (The Italian justice ministry is officially "the ministry of mercy and justice"). He expressed revulsion at the policy of reprisal raids. "Reprisals, all the more against people who had nothing to do with the deeds being punished, provoke in me an absolute opposition. It's necessary to find some other ways of preventing and suppressing the terrorism of others."

In the short run, Bettino Craxi's defense of his handling of the *Achille Lauro* affair revived the consensus around Italy's efforts to encourage reconciliation between Israel and the Palestinians. But those efforts look increasingly hopeless as the U.S. joins Israel's war against terrorism. In the medium run, since war is what there's going to be, it may seem most prudent to follow Spadolini's advice and hang in close with the strongest side, that is the U.S. But this entails giving up their own good sense, judgment and feelings. In the long run, such cynicism could undermine any political leadership.

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## SOUTH AFRICA

## Execution brings more unrest



By Dennis Bernstein

**T**HE OCTOBER 18 EXECUTION OF poet and African National Congress (ANC) member Benjamin Moloise has gravely intensified the violence in South Africa and bespeaks the ruling National Party's intransigence toward social change. Outrage and terror has spilled over into the all-white neighborhoods of Johannesburg. And the combination of gross ignorance and monumental callousness, demonstrated by State President P.W. Botha's hard line, has created one more martyr for the cause of black liberation.

According to South Africa's white-supremacist regime, the major stumbling block

to peace and reconciliation in the region is the ANC's refusal to denounce violence. Louis Nel, deputy minister of information for South Africa, recently asserted, "The African National Congress must match South Africa's commitment to Western civilized values and to non-violence."

For more than 40 years, from its founding in 1912, the ANC was a strictly non-violent organization. During this time its peaceful methods were attacked legislatively while its members were subjected to a litany of brutalities including imprisonment, torture, internal exile, street execution and constitutional murder at the gallows.

In 1961, the year after the ANC was outlawed, its "avowed" president, Zulu

*Poet Benjamin Moloise's execution led to the first major clashes in Johannesburg's white areas.*

Chief Albert Luthuli, was granted the Nobel Peace Prize for a lifetime's work dedicated to tearing down the walls of apartheid in order to, in his words, "establish peacefully a society in which merit and not race would fix the position of the individual in the life of the nation." In his acceptance speech Luthuli, an admirer of Mahatma Gandhi, declared, "To remain neutral in a situation where the laws of the land virtually criticized God for having created men of color was the sort of thing I could not, as a Christian, tolerate." Chief Luthuli had been banished and forbidden to leave his home village the year before he was granted

Western civilization's highest honor, and remained in internal exile until his mysterious death in 1967.

On the night before Moloise's execution—as appeals for clemency were sent by the Pope and the UN Security Council—South African soldiers showed their commitment to "Western civilized values" when they used tear gas to break up a prayer vigil at the home of Moloise's mother. "We wanted to sing for our son," said Mamike Moloise, "but they would not let us."

"The apartheid government has recently unleashed a wave of terror," said African poet-in-exile Dennis Brutus on the day before Moloise was hanged. "There are now many killings by the police and the army designed to intimidate people, terrorize them into submission. Moloise is one more death among many." But Brutus, who was shot in the back by South African security police before he managed to escape and was begrudgingly granted asylum in this country, is convinced that "neither shootings nor hangings can stop the march to freedom."

According to a statement released by the ANC after the execution, Moloise "dedicated his life to political objectives that the whole world accepts as basic to human dignity and liberty."

The Pretoria government has stolen the poet's breath but not his words. Moloise, like many before him, went singing to the gallows in the name of freedom, and his last words will not easily be forgotten by those who continue to struggle for a free South Africa. "Tomorrow I will spill my blood for those who remain behind," Moloise, the father of two, told his mother on the day before he was hanged. "The struggle must go on, nobody must fear it."

Nobel Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu is now beginning to reach the same conclusions that Nelson Mandela and other ANC members came to in 1961, when they saw that nearly 50 years of nonviolent protest had not improved the black's condition in South Africa, but had only brought increased repression. Tutu recently declared that he had seen "no results" from his advocacy of nonviolence and suggested that like Nazism, "apartheid could very well be" another system that will require a violent overthrow.

"I get so angry," Tutu told *Life* magazine. "I think I should do something so they could act against me once and for all."

Dennis Bernstein writes regularly for *In These Times*.

By James B. Goodno

## PHILIPPINES

MANILA, THE PHILIPPINES

**T**HERE IS LITTLE DOUBT ANYMORE about the outcome of what was once called this country's trial of the century. Gen. Fabian C. Ver, the Armed Forces chief of staff, and most—if not all—of his co-defendants charged in connection with the 1983 murders of opposition leader Benigno Aquino Jr. and small-time hood Rolando Galman will soon be free.

It is safe to say this, even though the three-judge panel that heard the case in an obscure administrative law court was still deliberating when *In These Times* went to press. Not only have the rulings of that court, the Sandiganbayan, and the Supreme Court interpreted the law in questionable ways to the benefit of the defendants, but the prosecution team failed miserably in its presentation of the people's case.

The trial opened far more questions than it answered. Few people are ready to accept the rejuvenated military theory that Galman killed Aquino on Manila International Airway's heavily guarded runway shortly after the former senator arrived home after three years in the U.S. and moments before he himself was killed by the military. More people wonder why the prosecution performed so poorly. And they especially wonder why the prosecution failed to present available witnesses and evidence reported in the local and foreign press that would have added strength to its presentation.

Some are willing to give the panel the

## Kangaroo court leaves Aquino killing unsolved

benefit of the doubt and say the prosecution either did its best or was simply inept. But many others—especially those in the media, politics and the law who followed the trial closely, believe there was a broader conspiracy to cover up the events surrounding the double murder. Many believe—and there is evidence to support their contention—that the chief prosecutor, members of the judiciary and representatives of President Ferdinand E. Marcos joined the military in obscuring a plot, which may have been more widespread than even the commission charged with investigating the murders alleged.

With many people convinced there was a military plot, they now question what will happen to Gen. Ver once he is acquitted. The U.S. and many moderate oppositionists believe there will be a further erosion of faith in the system and in the status of human rights should he be taken off leave and returned to active duty as chief of staff.

The U.S. is known to favor Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos, a West Point graduate and acting chief of staff over Ver. In an attempt to placate some dissent, Marcos may create

a new position for Ver, a loyal ally of the president. Much speculation recently has centered on Ver being named minister of the interior—a new position that would control police and counterinsurgency units.

Allegations of a white-wash haunted the trial from the beginning. They were further supported by reports emanating from the prosecutor's office alleging a series of meetings involving, among others, chief prosecutor Bernardo Fernandez and presidential legal advisor Manuel Lazaro. Some meetings allegedly involved members of the defense and judicial panels as well. According to one source who requested anonymity, an employee of the prosecutor's office kept a diary with dates and places of these meetings. He has reportedly said he would make the diary available if security for his family can be guaranteed.

Lazaro has long been an advocate of the military version of the killings. Like his boss, President Marcos, Lazaro has said Galman killed Aquino under orders of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Last year Lazaro attempted to manipulate the legal panel of the fact-finding board appointed by Marcos to investigate the kil-

ling. The head of the legal panel, Andres Narvasa, could not be swayed and eventually a four-to-one majority of the board found Ver, 24 military men and one civilian indictable. Narvasa now says manipulation by the president's staff could lead to the reopening of the trial.

"What could happen afterward, if it is true that the public prosecutor has been receiving instructions and has been following them—these are grounds for disbarment, the prosecutor can be replaced and a review initiated by a new prosecutor of the evidence and an opportunity given to undo the damage done," Narvasa said. But, he said, it is unlikely that collusion could be proven.

While an acquittal of Ver and the others would probably not spark the outrage that accompanied the murder itself from a tired and somewhat disinterested public, it cannot be taken as a total victory for those, led by President Marcos, who want the episode swept under the carpet. For while Ver may be restored to public life, the performance of the prosecution and the judiciary and the possibility of a broader coverup has only furthered the erosion of public confidence in the institutions of Marcos' Philippines. And with elections coming up, it may be more difficult for moderate oppositionists and members of the ruling party to convince people that they would be able to solve the nation's myriad political and economic problems.

James B. Goodno is *In These Times*' correspondent in the Philippines.

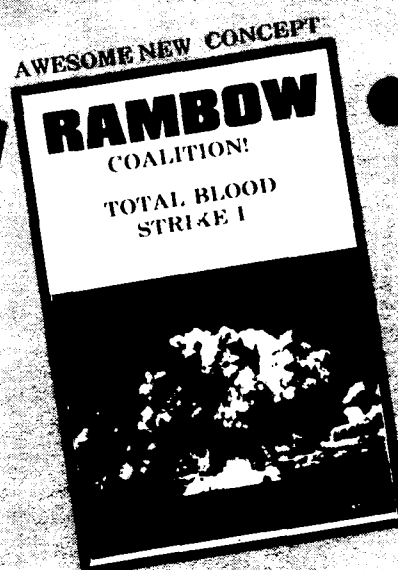
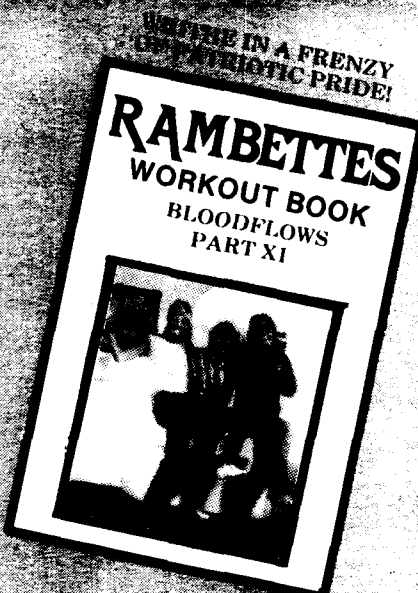
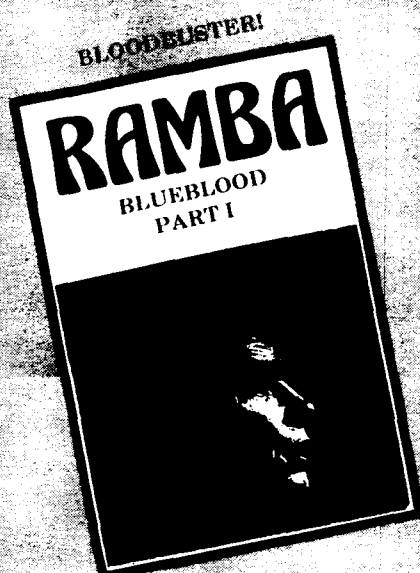


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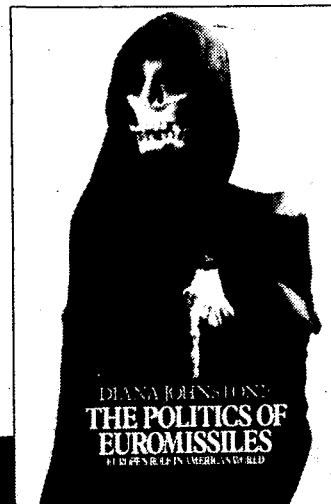
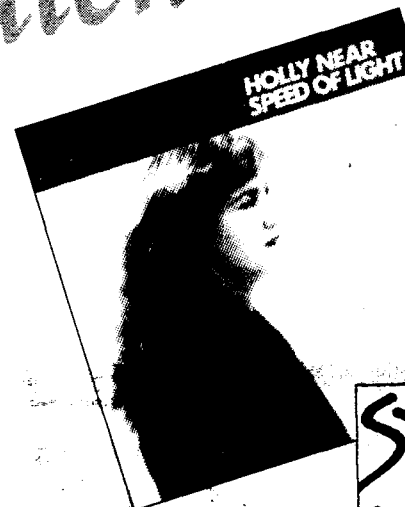
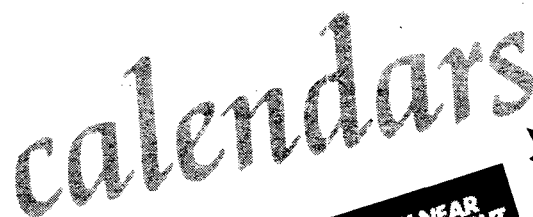
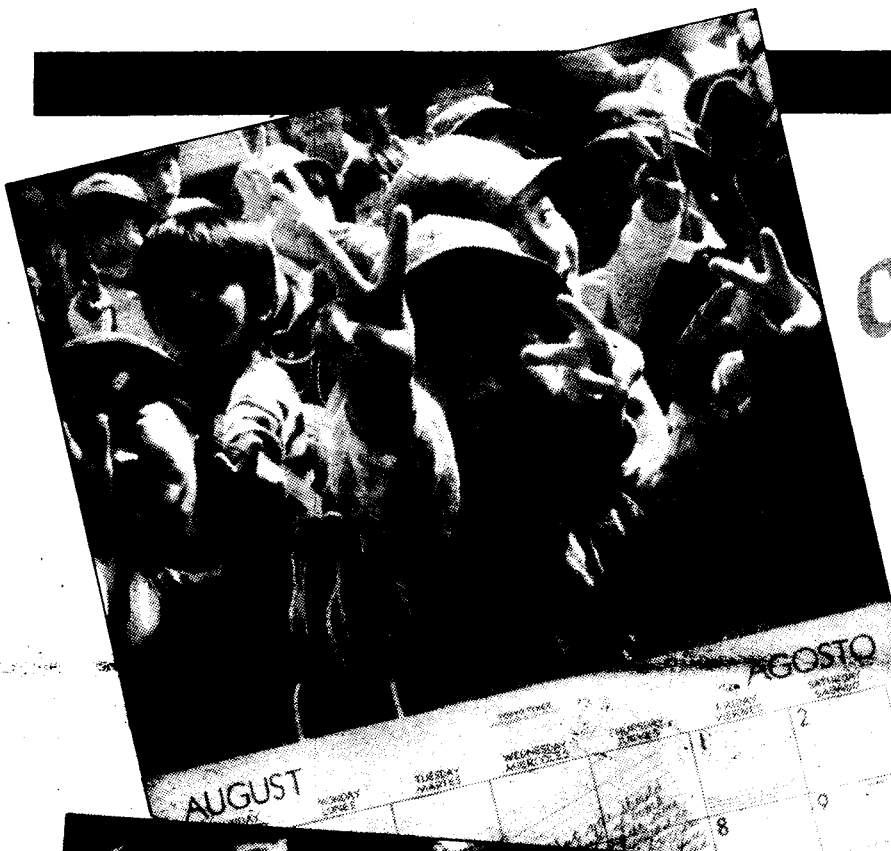
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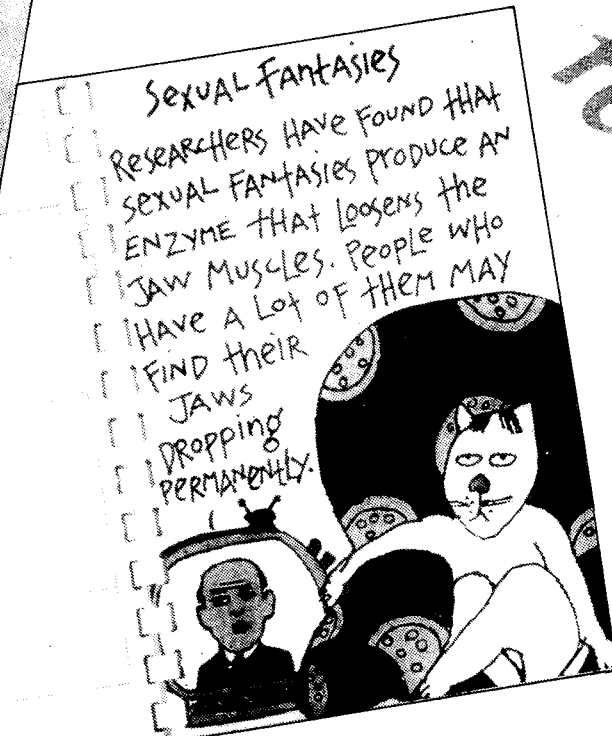
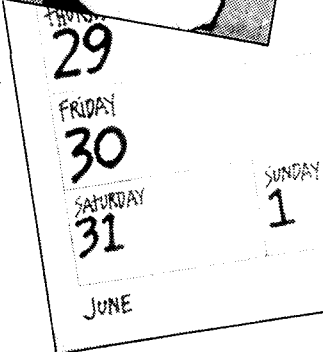
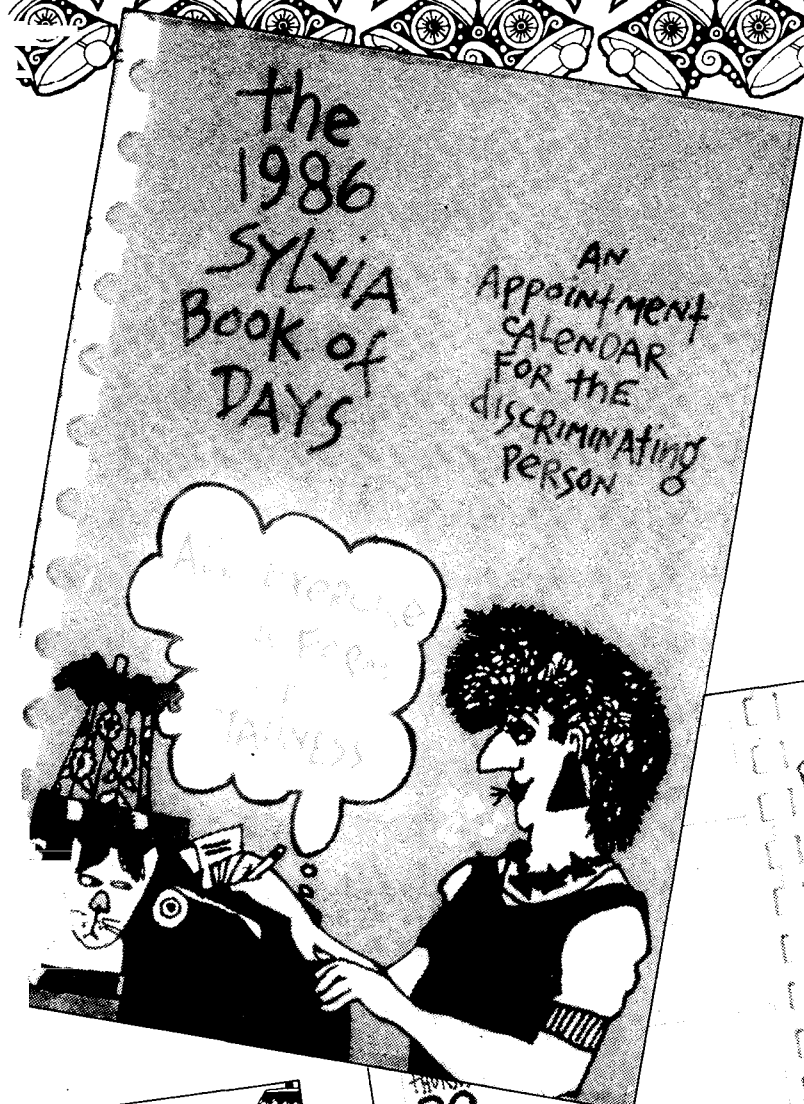
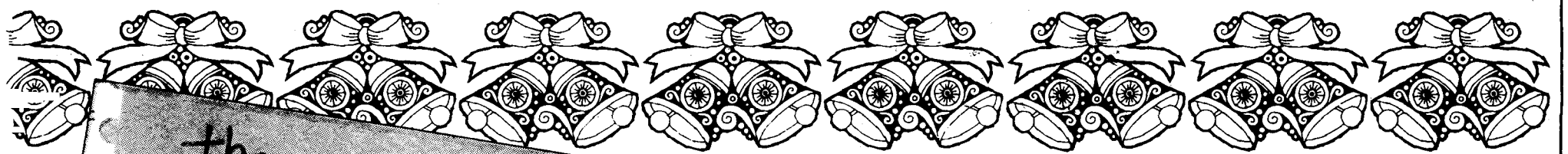
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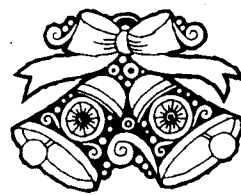
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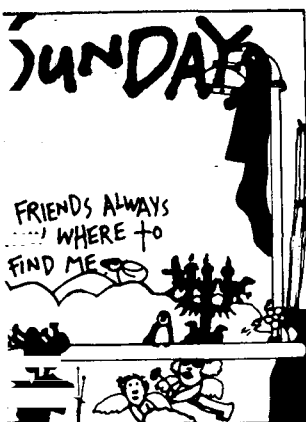
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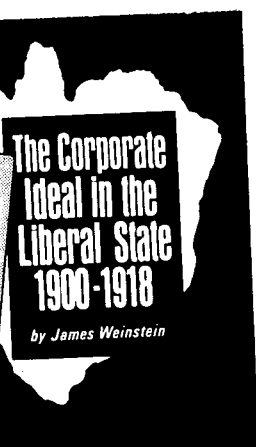
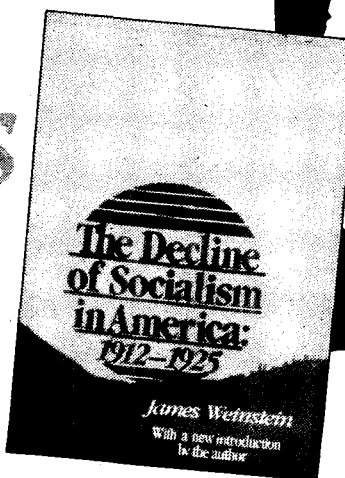
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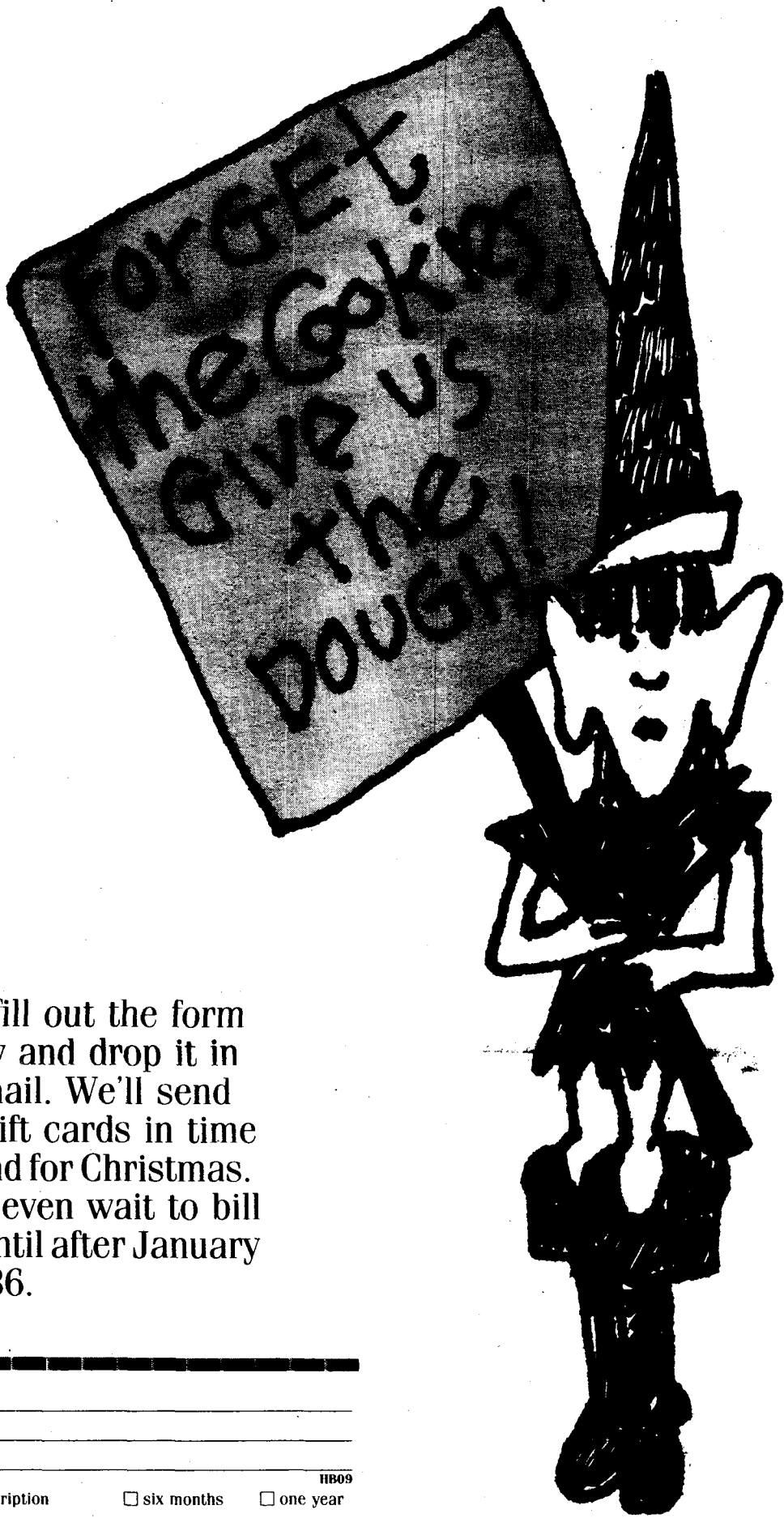
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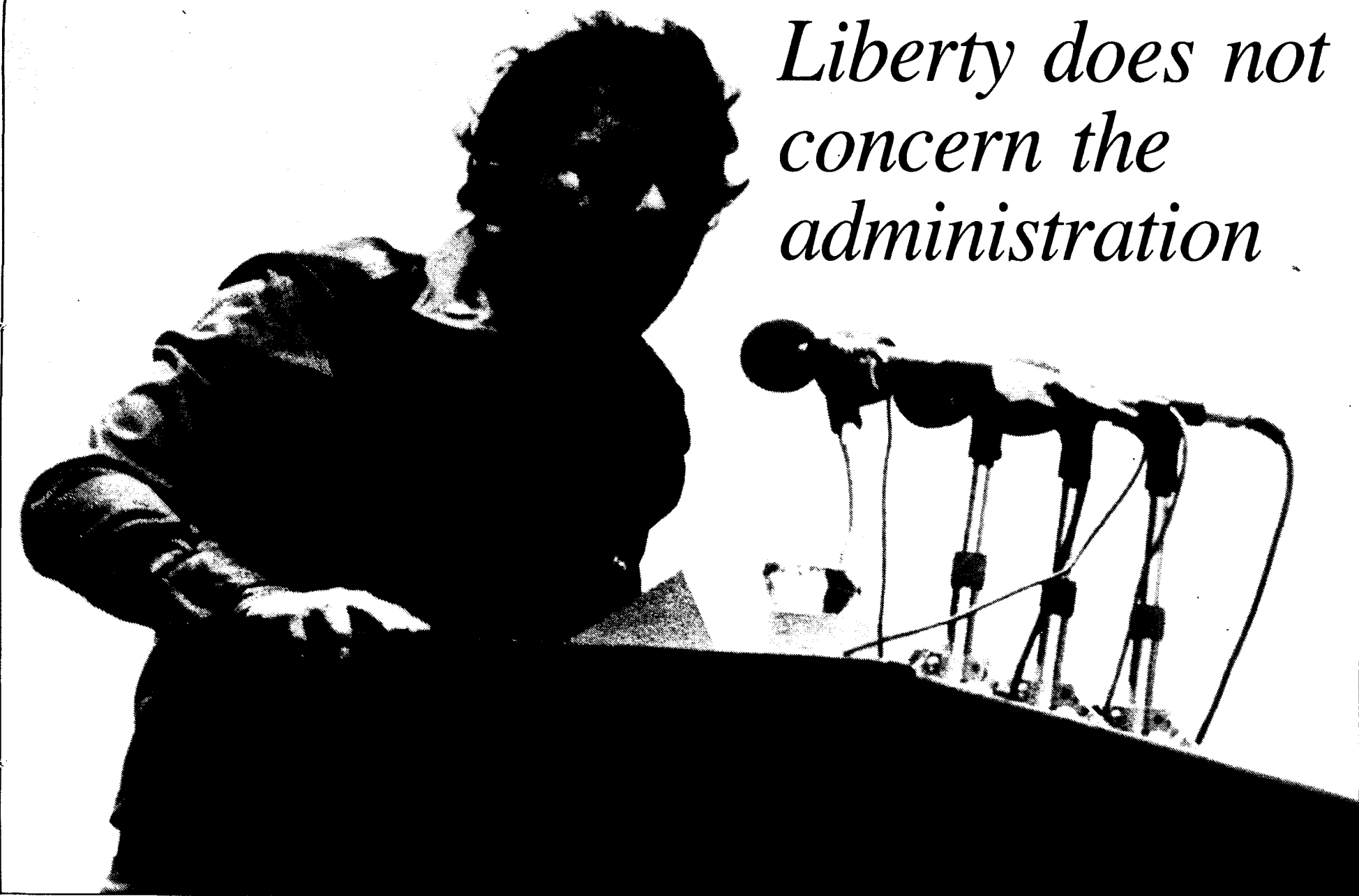
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## EDITORIAL

*Liberty does not concern the administration*

Mel Rosenthal

Two weeks ago, on October 15, Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega announced that his government had extended for a year the official state of emergency that was first imposed in March 1982. Provisions of the emergency had been relaxed in July 1984, during the Nicaraguan elections, but were now being reimposed, according to Ortega, because of American threats of "direct military intervention" and because "agents of imperialism" inside Nicaragua are accelerating their attempts to destabilize the country and sabotage the revolution.

The new decree suspends the right of public assembly, unrestricted movement within the country and mail privacy. Also restricted are the right to organize trade unions and to strike, the right to a speedy trial and the right to appeal judicial sentences. And the decree permits authorities to search homes and arrest people without warrants. Censorship of the news media will also be toughened.

A few days earlier, Nicaraguan security agents confiscated the first issue of a Catholic Church newsletter and seized the church office where it was printed. The newsletter had been critical of the drafting of 11 seminarians, of a raid on the Catholic radio station to censor broadcasts and of the expulsion of 10 foreign priests from the country.

The Reagan administration reaction to these developments was swift and predictable. "These individuals," said White House spokesman Larry Speakes, "have trampled on civil liberties as very few countries have done in the past." And State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb said that the Sandinista government had "taken a further step toward imposing a totalitarian regime on the people of Nicaragua."

We do not know what attempts are now being made by the CIA in cooperation with domestic opponents of the revolution to destabilize Nicaragua, but we are confident that the CIA is doing all it can. We are opposed to all restrictions on civil liberties, but a state of war now exists in all but name between the United States and Nicaragua, and the Reagan adminis-

tration continues illegally and immorally to attack Nicaragua. For that country an emergency clearly does exist, and it is just as clearly an emergency created by the intervention of the United States. Under such conditions it is nothing but the sheerest hypocrisy to decry their response to our actions.

Furthermore, the suspension of civil liberties has nothing to do with the Reagan administration criticisms of the Sandinistas. This is an administration that unflinchingly supports the apartheid regime of South Africa, the death-squad governments of El Salvador and Guatemala, the despotic South Korean dictator and the bloody Marcos regime in the Philippines. Every day there is another example of the administration's true indifference to the principles of civil liberties and democracy.

If any further proof of this is necessary, the Liberian election two weeks ago is a ~~fine case in point~~. This regime came to power with administration blessing and a promise to end corruption and to establish democracy. Three years later, under mounting popular and foreign pressure, elections were held, but they sound amazingly like the most hostile descriptions of the Nicaraguan election in 1984. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, "the backs of candidates of opposing parties bear the wounds of whips wielded by policemen sent out to stop their political rallies." Some candidates have been jailed for days at a time, and party workers have disappeared, with some "still unaccounted for and presumed dead."

Two of the five parties originally in the race—the two with the greatest following—have been banned from the elections

and their leaders forbidden to speak out on any public issue. Regional government officials have regularly denied opposition parties the right to hold campaign rallies.

And what is the reaction of the Reagan administration to this parody of a free election? It has increased aid to Liberia from \$11 million in 1980 to \$86 million this year. Liberia now has the third highest per capita aid rate in Africa.

If the Reagan administration really were concerned about democracy in Nicaragua, it could test Daniel Ortega by taking him at his word. He promised in his speech before the United Nations last week to end all the restrictions imposed by the emergency decree as soon as the U.S. ends its hostilities against his country. Meanwhile, whether their judgment is good or bad, Nicaragua can't be faulted for doing what it sees as necessary to defend itself. ■

*Voluntary religion is o.k. in public schools*

It isn't often that we agree with a Reagan administration position on civil rights or liberties, but we do in the case of *Bender v. Williamsport*, now before the Supreme Court. This case was brought by a student group at a public high school in Williamsport, Pa., after they were denied permission to hold religious meetings during the school's student activity period. In the first round, in 1981, the students sued and won a ruling in federal district court that school officials had violated their Fifth Amendment rights in denying them the right to meet voluntarily.

The group was then allowed to meet for a year until a local school board member appealed the decision on the grounds that the school, in allowing the group to meet, was engaged in government "sponsoring and advancing religion." This appeal is now before the Court.

This case is not directly a test of the Equal Access Act of 1984, in which Con-

gress required schools to allow student meetings for "religious, political, philosophical" or other discussions on the same basis as all other extra-curricular activity. But the issue is the same as the intent of the 1984 act, which is that high school students should be considered mature enough to distinguish between permission to hold voluntary meetings and official endorsement of their content or purpose.

In arguing the case as a friend of the court, the acting solicitor general urged the justices to give the highest degree of

*Activity consistent with intellectual growth should be encouraged.*

deference to Congress' intent in passing the Equal Access Act. Interestingly, it was the Court's most consistently conservative justice, Sandra Day O'Connor, who seemed disturbed by the possibility that allowing this group to meet might open the way to allowing the "Sons of Satan or whoever" also to meet. Her concern flows from the language of the act, which was a compromise between those favoring prayer in public schools and those who wish to expand and protect the rights of groups frowned upon by establishment administrators. And, indeed, the students' lawyer responded that, yes, such fringe groups have the same constitutional right as more conventional groups.

In our view, any student activity consistent with intellectual, political or philosophical development should be encouraged in the schools, not restricted. Religious and political meetings should equally be protected, as long as neither is sponsored nor prescribed by the schools. It is one thing not to allow an official religion—or an official politics. It is something quite different to deny any serious group of students the right to meet and discuss their beliefs in time set aside for extra-curricular activity. We're for the maximum freedom in this respect. ■



## LETTERS

## Bigotry

WHEN THE LIES, LIBELS AND CANARDS about Jews/Zionists in the letters pages of *ITT* get too wild, I must respond.

The letter (*ITT*, Oct. 9) ascribing "bad blood" between Jews and Ukrainians to a Jewish misunderstanding of the Ukrainian word for Jew is a case in point. There's no misunderstanding.

Bloody Ukrainian pogroms against "Zhids" (kikes) early in the century drove thousands of Jews into their graves or out of the country. During World War II, many more were delivered to the Nazi death camps, or rounded up and slaughtered in Ukrainian towns by the tens of thousands of Ukrainians who enlisted in the SS divisions or in the Nazi police.

If many Ukrainians still choose to say *Zhid*, which means kike, instead of a more polite word, are Jews to be scolded for "misunderstanding"?

Another letter, by Ernest Field, says Russian Jewish immigrants to the U.S. are racial bigots—and that they are bigots because they are Zionists—all Zionists are taught bigotry, etc.

Wild! To begin with, the Russian Jewish immigrants in Brighton Beach are probably a lot less racist than most of their Irish, Italian and other ethnic neighbors in Brooklyn.

Second, if they were Zionists (which is why they are allegedly racist), they would be in Israel, rather than in the U.S.

Third, Field is confusing an ancient anti-Semitic canard—that Jews think they are better than anyone else—with the current, very chic, leftist (and rightist) propaganda campaign against Zionists.

As a life-long socialist/Zionist, I can attest that Zionism is a positive philosophy that seeks to build a homeland for people who survived the concentration camps and pogroms, or are seeking to escape the second-class citizenship of Ethiopia, Arab countries and elsewhere, and for those who just don't want to live near fascist types who call them "Zhids".

Seymour Posner  
New York

## Zionists in Russia

ERNEST FIELD'S CLAIM THAT "ZIONIST racial philosophy" teaches that Jews are superior to blacks and other non-Jews is pure fabrication. The only "evidence" yet produced to equate Zionism and racism is the fact that Israel is the only country to guarantee citizenship to Jews! Field produced no new evidence, only baseless charges.

There simply have never been any Zionist teachings about Jews' superiority to blacks or any other racial, national or ethnic group. Liberal and socialist Zionists such as Martin Buber, Ber Borokhov, Moshe Sneh, Amoz Oz and Lyora Eliar (to name only a few) have never succumbed to any such racism. Even Meir Kahane, who resembles traditional Zionism less than Hitler resembled Nietzsche, has never stooped that low.

Equally false is Field's assertion that most Russian Jewish emigrants are Zionists. Russia's Zionist movement is confined to the largest cities and, because of its underground status, difficult to contact. Its members are commonly jailed and refused exit visas. The large majority of Jewish emigrants are thus non-Zionists, especially the large numbers from Soviet Georgia.

The "problem" Russia has with "these Jews" is its own anti-Semitism, not some mythical racial doctrine. Is Field really unaware of the anti-Semitic "Doctor's Plot" hysteria, the KGB agents in the Moscow synagogue, the employment discrimination against Jews, the traditional Russian, Ukrainian and Georgian anti-

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Semitism used by the state for its own purposes?

Field imagines he is no anti-Semite because he does not simply say: "These Jews think they're better than everyone else." Instead, he adds the adjective "Zionist" to the noun "Jews" and conjures up a non-existent "Zionist racial philosophy." Did this literary embellishment convince *ITT* that Field expressed a legitimate leftist viewpoint?

Andrew J. Kliman  
Salt Lake City

**Editor's note:** The letters page is open to representative views, not necessarily "leftist."

## Ill informed

HOW EASY SOME OF LIFE'S DECISIONS would be if only ideologies were as simple as the description of Zionism by Ernest Field (Letters, Oct. 9).

If Zionists are all racists—how about those who fought for the Ethiopian Jews and continue to oppose racist religious rulings in Israel? How about those Zionists who participate in the campaign against apartheid? How about those who were in the campaigns of the '60s and went to jail for their activities? What about Zionists who work with Palestinians for Peace with Justice? What about the Zionist leaders of the movement to combat Kahane? Obviously there are Zionists and there are Zionists.

Neither is Judaism exactly what Field describes. Quite a few non-Zionist religious Jews do *not* believe in "universal equality and love of humanity." Look at some of the Hasidic groups.

I also don't understand how Field knows who the Soviet Union does or does not have room for. The government of that country obviously has difficulty determining what to do about dissenters or people who "stir up national hatred under the cloak of religion."

None of this means that I consider Field to be anti-Semitic, just not so well informed on these topics.

Joe Dimow  
New Haven, Conn.

## Why assimilate?

ERNEST FIELD'S CONTEMPT FOR THE JEWISH people is thinly veiled behind his statement that "Judaism, as opposed to Zionism, believes in universal equality and love of humanity" (Letters, Oct. 9). Field asserts: "Zionism teaches that Jews are superior to all non-Jews. Blacks occupy the lowest position...."

Zionism teaches no such thing. Zionism poses a question: why assimilate? It is the identical question posed by black nationalism. This question was most prominently asked among Jewish circles after the slaughter of Jewish people by Nazi Germany during World War II.

The problem for Zionism rests with the question it does not ask: when we build ourselves a Jewish nation, which people other than ourselves will have to pay the piper?

Robert Takaroff  
Jackson Heights, N.Y.

## UZI connection?

ISRAEL IS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO CRIMINAL violence inside the U.S. How so? This is how: One of the major "exports" of Israel to the U.S. is its famed UZI

sub-machinegun. Such weapons have become instruments of murder and mayhem in the hands of criminals. The UZI probably served as a model for other makes of sub-machineguns, thus adding even more to the tragic human toll taken by automatic weapons in this country. The San Ysidro, Calif., massacre last year featured at least one UZI in the hands of the perpetrator.

All in all, it is astonishing how little comment the "UZI connection" elicits in the U.S. There is no way for such massive numbers of guns to reach our shores without the knowledge and approval of the Israeli government. That regime must obviously feel the profits to be made outweigh the damage done to the citizens of its superpower patron.

Does the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms look the other way when a shipment of UZIs come our way? It must.

Frank W. Goheen  
Camas, Wash.

## Courage of conviction

IT SEEMS STRANGE THAT WE ARE SO CAREFUL to find out the cause of our illnesses, seeking all available information from our doctor, yet we pay so little attention to the cause of major world problems that not only create great tension, but often take lives. Here I speak of the violence called by many "acts of terrorists."

Not long ago it was the TWA hijacking, before that the bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut and various U.S. embassies around the world, the taking of hostages in Iran and Lebanon, including even some Russian diplomats, and now the seizure of a cruise ship with the death of a U.S. citizen. To this can be added the continued violence in South Africa, Ireland, El Salvador, Nicaragua, etc., at soccer games involving British teams, and certainly in the ghettos, barrios and reservations of our own country where poverty

is of the most violent kind. These are just a few of the many. We constantly condemn such acts, curse the perpetrators and call for retaliation, but we never seem to ask why people take such violent action against other people, especially against citizens of the U.S., and why so many in other lands curse the U.S.

After a doctor finds the cause of our illness he or she takes steps to get rid of the cause, thus the illness. Perhaps we should begin to follow this course of action as we seek to eradicate the violence of the world. Perhaps we should stop speaking of "evil empires" and "terrorist nations," as Reagan does, and instead examine ourselves. If we do, I suspect we will better understand what is causing so much condemnation of our country. We will find that we are only 6 percent of the world's population, but we consume over 40 percent of the earth's non-renewable natural resources...about seven times our fair share. It doesn't leave much for the other 94 percent of the world's peoples.

I'm an agnostic, but I do think the bedrock philosophy of the Judeo-Christian religion, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," is a fine way to act. I don't want other nations taking seven times their share of the earth's bounty, and I certainly don't want them building nuclear rockets and aiming them at us.

That philosophy calls for unilateral action. I wonder if we will ever have the courage to follow it and be the Judeo-Christian nation our leaders claim us to be?

John Thorne  
Olympia, WA

## O dear

"GORBACHOV?" NOT EXACTLY WHAT I expected from *In These Times*.

John Q. Barrett  
Somerville, Mass.

**Editor's note:** In Russian there are two letters that look like "e." The second one has a diphthong and is pronounced "o." Like Khrushchov, Gorbachov deserves an "o" in English. Others will follow.

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## PERSPECTIVE

By John Russo

**T**HIS FALL, THE AFL-CIO'S Department of International Affairs (DIA) is holding four regional conferences on international issues affecting labor. One hundred union leaders from the Northeast and labor representatives from South Africa, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua who are largely sympathetic to AFL-CIO foreign policy positions attended the first conference, in September in New York City. It focused on the "federation's positions on some of the world's troubled spots—particularly South Africa and Central America, where workers are struggling to attain basic human rights," according to the *AFL-CIO News*.

In the past, AFL-CIO foreign policy has roughly followed U.S. foreign and military policy—combining rabid anti-Communism with the rhetoric of free trade unionism and capitalist development (social progress). Yet, despite its often anti-totalitarian pronouncements, the AFL-CIO can show little in actual improvements either in labor or human rights conditions to justify support of some of the most anti-labor and repressive regimes in the world.

The need for these conferences is itself a tacit admission of diminished AFL-CIO credibility with national and local unions on foreign affairs issues, especially in regard to Central America. The Federation traditionally has conducted its foreign affairs out of its Washington complex with disregard to the concerns of the rank and file. (Some would suggest that this complex includes the State Department and CIA offices.) But growing discontent by the rank and file over AFL-CIO support of interventionism has forced old DIA cold warriors, like International Affairs Director Irving Brown and American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD) Executive Director William Doherty from their Potomac dens. In the regional conferences, DIA is trying to correct what it believes are "misconceptions" about AFL-CIO positions and place a patina on past mistakes.

It is unlikely that this attempt will succeed in recapturing past levels of support. Resistance among unionists toward continued AFL-CIO support of foreign and military policy is growing in three areas: economic concerns, institutional threats and human rights.

### Economic concerns

The operative principle of U.S. military and foreign policy is the promotion of "economic freedom." Translated, this means freedom of corporations to invest, sell and repatriate profits. This objective is achieved through various programs, such as President Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative, which permits the region to become a free trade zone where corporations can produce (joint ventures or subcontract work), pass goods through the area and sell products in the U.S. market without being subject to tariffs.

Military aid and assistance help client governments in the region provide a favorable investment climate that may include suppression of democratic processes, peasant organizations, free press and labor unions. As Noam Chomsky has suggested, economic freedom for corporate investment often requires political servitude.

Many of the labor community now reject this formulation because it has resulted in corporate disinvestment and deindustrialization. As corporations disinvested and moved capital offshore, unionized jobs especially in the manufacturing industries have been lost and whole industries decimated. Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison have shown that

## AFL-CIO foreign policy faces revolt

these jobs are not being replaced by jobs paying comparable wages or requiring comparable skills. Consequently, economic arguments regarding "comparative advantage" that were once used to justify job losses resulting from foreign policy decisions are no longer acceptable to many trade unionists. Rather, with advances in computerization of manufacturing, shipping, telecommunications and capital mobility, many unionists now believe that "comparative advantage" means which country will allow its workers to work for less. The recent announcement by IBM to locate production of the PC computer in Mexico indicates that even jobs in the hi-tech sectors are vulnerable.

Defense expenditures also concern unionists. In order to maintain a proper investment climate in foreign countries, the U.S. government has dramatically increased defense expenditures. Conventional union wisdom saw increased military spending leading to increased employment in high-wage unionized defense industries and, in turn, stimulation of employment in other sectors. Consequently, the military/industrial complex had the AFL-CIO as an important ally. This support ranged from tacit approval of increased military expenditures to actual involvement in developing and executing foreign policy objectives. Organized labor's activities have included intensive lobbying for increased defense expenditures, attempting to structure foreign labor movements along American lines, and even the use of the AIFLD as a conduit for CIA money and covert operations.

This perspective is rapidly being replaced by one that suggests that military spending is wasteful, creates fewer jobs than other forms of public spending, and that capital might better be spent in rebuilding the nation's infrastructure. This conversion theory is popular among Midwest unionists. Last year the National Emergency Conference against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America/the Caribbean was attended by 200 unionists representing 42 unions. Many present said that the part of the defense budget allocated to "force projection" could have been used to rebuild local steel mills in Cleveland. ("Force projection"—at a cost of \$5 billion—is preparation for intervention in Central America.) In turn, modern steel facilities could provide the steel necessary to rebuild our cities, highways and bridges while providing employment and strengthening local communities.

### Institutional threats

The second major objection to AFL-CIO support of current U.S. foreign and military policy concerns undermining of collective bargaining, organizing and union solidarity. The U.S. often backs Third World dictatorships or puppet governments that suppress national liberation and indigenous labor movements. As stable economic conditions are created for global corporate development, American workers are threatened by corporations with plant movement. In recent years, this has contributed to the chaos in American collective bargaining where unions are constantly being forced to choose between unemployment and unwarranted givebacks. Further, intra- and inter-union rivalry over which plants will remain open has been promoted by corporations to gain additional concessions in local work rules. In the face of inadequate employment opportunities, economic blackmail by corporations is union-busting on an interna-

tional scale.

Similarly, union organizing efforts have become more difficult because of threats of plant movement. In the manufacturing sector, such threats are now routine. They are particularly effective given the ease with which corporations can move operations offshore.

To make matters worse, according to William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, past support by the AFL-CIO of U.S. adventurism has often made it difficult to reach the growing number of workers in the emerging technical and service industries. Unlike older white male unionists, who traditionally have been overrepresented in the American labor movement, the political consciousness of new workers was not shaped by World War II and the Cold War, but by the civil rights, women's and anti-war struggles. Many of these workers remember AFL-CIO hostility during their political moments.

Furthermore, many of the new workers remain openly skeptical of simplistic military formulations of national security and economic freedom and support anti-interventionists and nuclear freeze movements. Others, especially women and minorities, believe their economic foothold has been threatened by policies that divert money from the government and the service sectors—two sectors upon which they are highly dependent. To organize these workers and replenish the

## Changes in rank-and-file attitudes toward human rights is not yet reflected in the attitudes of top leaders.

dwindling ranks in unions, union leaders such as Winpisinger believe the AFL-CIO must reevaluate its foreign and military policy.

Taken together, the threats to collective bargaining, union organizing and domestic and international union solidarity resulting from continued AFL-CIO support of U.S. interventionist policy have played a significant role in the institutional weakening American unions.

### Human rights

The third major area of concern over AFL-CIO foreign and military policy involves the issue of human rights.

American unions have traditionally played a central role in the fight for human dignity and rights. The trajectory of unionism has generally been toward social and economic justice, equality, fair treatment, free speech and democratic ideals. But in recent years, the focus of American unions has been largely sectarian and economic.

Reaction to this can now be seen in the labor press. In the last two years, major articles have appeared in the leading publications of the National Education Association (NEA), United Auto Workers (UAW) and American Federal, State and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), among others, that have stressed the lack of basic human rights and dignity in the Central American

and Caribbean countries. Like the *Public Employee* (AFSCME), most of these articles suggest that "the strategy of the U.S. government in El Salvador does not seem geared to changing [human rights violations]." Unions like the UAW are more outspoken. For example, "The UAW calls for an end to U.S. military aid to El Salvador; the beginning of a dialog among all parties, a halt to covert and overt aid to overthrow the Nicaraguan government and a withdrawal of the CIA and military involvement in Honduras aimed at harassing the people of Nicaragua."

Other unions, like Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), have gone a step further by introducing resolutions at their conventions endorsing the nuclear freeze, supporting the Contadora initiative and urging termination of investment in South Africa.

A good deal of the responsibility for these changes goes to the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. The Committee is composed of the presidents of several unions and is co-chaired by Douglas Fraser, William Winpisinger and Jack Sheinkman. The National Labor Committee has sent two fact-finding groups to Central America and has concluded that the government of El Salvador is making no real progress toward human rights, that elections by the government offer no solution to El Salvador's on-going conflict; and that continued U.S. aid will not alter current political and economic realities in El Salvador. The reports of their fact-finding missions have been widely circulated in the labor community.

Jack Sheinkman has suggested that the religious community has become the major factor influencing labor's reemphasis on human rights. The activities of the World Council of Churches, the sanctuary movement and growing interest in liberation theology are the most obvious examples. The leadership of the American Catholic Bishops, who have been effective in tying together labor and human rights struggles throughout the world, have been particularly important. The Catholic bishops' "Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy," concludes that "Trade unions express the essentially social nature of human persons and manifest the human need for solidarity." Many unionists have been influenced by this juxtaposition and are now attuned to the political content of the gospel of human rights.

But the changes occurring in rank-and-file attitudes toward human rights have not been fully reflected in the policy position of the AFL-CIO. Rather, in some instances the AFL-CIO has been counterproductive. For example, at the 1983 AFL-CIO convention, a resolution was approved by the affiliates that made government assistance to El Salvador contingent upon its progress in implementing land reform, protecting trade union rights, establishing a just judicial system and bringing the death squads under control. Yet in August 1984, Lane Kirkland and DIA repudiated the resolution and informed Congress at a critical juncture in the foreign debate that it no longer would object to giving aid to El Salvador without proof of improvements in human rights conditions. Almost immediately, additional aid was forthcoming to El Salvador. Two months later, the AFL-CIO reinstated the restrictions on giving aid after El Salvador failed to prosecute those responsible for the murder of Michael Hammer and Mark Perlman—both AIFLD operatives. Such cynical behavior is indicative of how contemptuous the AFL-CIO headquarters can be toward the affiliates in regard to foreign policy. ■

John Russo is director of the Labor Studies Program at Youngstown State University.



## TECHNOTRENDS

By John B. Judis

**O**F ALL THE CURRENT trade gaps bedeviling Congress and the president, none is as significant as the deficit in semiconductor chips, the tiny silicon components that run everything from wristwatches to guided missiles.

The trade battle over chips—unlike that over shoes—is not about whether the U.S. is too “advanced” to produce such products profitably, but whether it is becoming a “backward” nation with respect to Japan. If the U.S. cannot compete with Japan on computer chips, it will not be able to compete with it on any major industrial or post-industrial product.

The U.S. decline has not been gradual but precipitous. Americans invented the semiconductor chip and as late as two decades ago American firms enjoyed a monopoly on their production. While the U.S. still has a slight lead in world sales—50 percent to Japan's 40 percent—it has fallen sharply behind in the most rapidly growing sector of the market—memory chips for the integrated circuits inside computers and other advanced electronic devices.

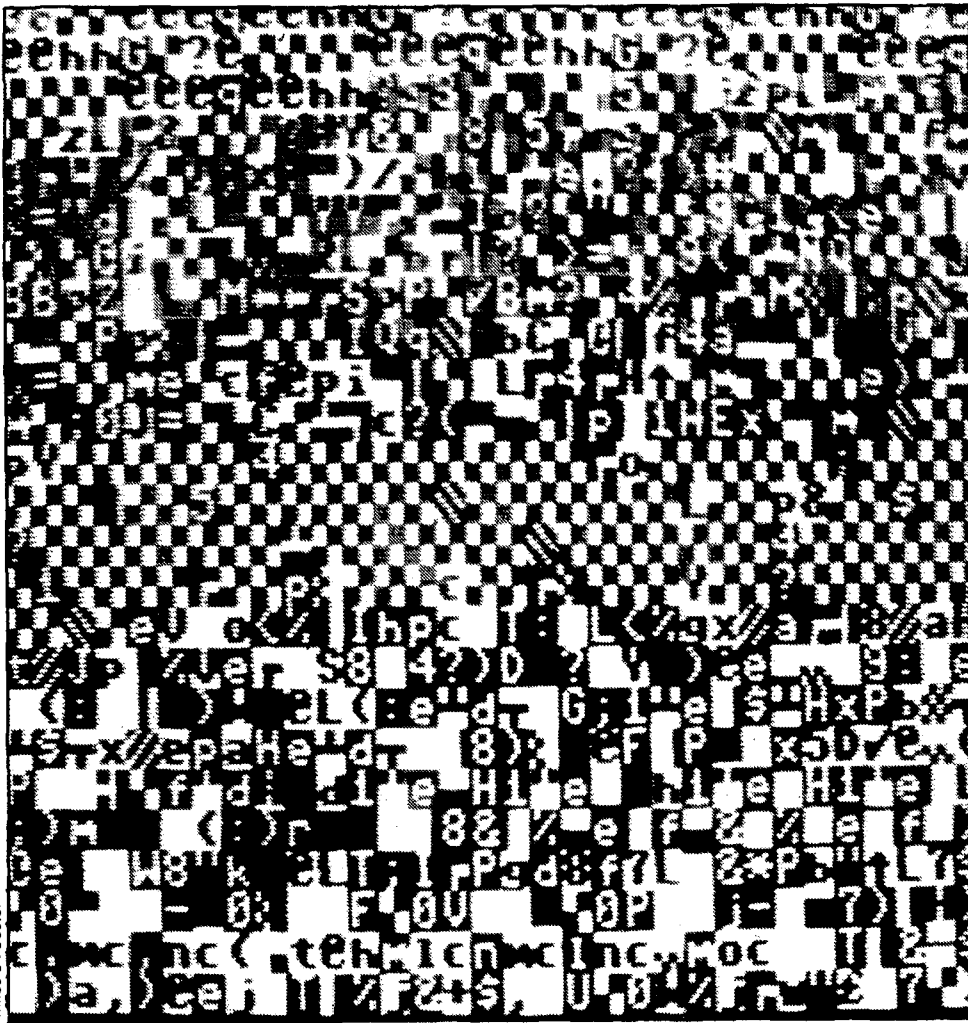
Japan now controls two-thirds of the market for 64K memory chips—the chips that go inside most personal computers—and 92 percent of the market for the 256K chips that go inside advanced computer equipment. (The term “64K” means that a chip can hold 65,536 bits of information.) According to John Lazio Jr. of Hambrecht & Quist, “The battle in the RAM (random access memory) market is over.”

The Japanese succeeded at 64K chips because they produced higher quality chips often at a lower price. While American firms used assembly-line methods of *ex post facto* detection of faulty products, the Japanese adopted the quality control theories of American Edward Deming. Deming stressed the prevention of error during the production process—through worker participation and work teams.

The superior Japanese quality was first acknowledged by Hewlett-Packard Division Manager Richard Anderson at an industry conference in March 1980. Shaken industry officials then undertook a new effort, led by Intel President Robert Noyce, the cofounder of the silicon chip, to match Japanese quality.

But by most recent reports, the U.S. firms have not succeeded. In the spring of 1984, Hewlett-Packard's Robert Frankenburg released studies showing that while U.S. chip quality had improved, American chips still failed screening at three times the Japanese rate.

With the new 256K chips, the Japanese



## Chip gap growing as Japanese pull ahead

have simply beaten American firms to the punch. Beginning in 1976, Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) encouraged research into 256K chips and Japanese banks provided funding.

Because of the high risk of error—printing hundreds of thousands of components on a tiny silicon slab—these chips had to be assembled with automated technology. While U.S. firms were trying to compete with the Japanese by farming out production to low-wage electrical sweat shops in Hong Kong or Taiwan, the Japanese were perfecting automated factories in which human labor virtually disappeared. By the early '80s, they were well ahead of the U.S.

### American disabilities

The American failure to meet the Japanese challenge is largely due to the anarchic structure of the computer industry, the fitful and almost accidental character of government assistance and the antiquated economic philosophy that prevails in Wash-

ington and in many corporate boardrooms.

Japanese industry is dominated by a handful of conglomerates that produce both components and end products, but the American industry contains one integrated giant, IBM, a group of medium-sized firms that live in IBM's shadow, and a host of smaller companies that produce particular kinds of hardware or software. Of the American firms, only IBM is capable of making the kind of sustained, large-scale investment necessary to keep up with Hitachi, NEP and the other Japanese *kieratsu*.

Unlike Japanese firms, most American firms are also ruled by the imperatives of the capital market, which responds to quarterly profit figures rather than to plans for the future. In Japan, banks are the major stockholders in the *kieratsu* and occupy key positions on their boards of directors. Because the banks are more interested in assuring interest on their loans than dividends, they tend to encourage the kind of long-term planning that is entirely alien to the dividend-obsessed American firm.

In the U.S., the government, burdened by a laissez-faire ideology, has only been willing to finance semiconductor research as part of military or space budgets. In the '70s and '80s, military demands on chip producers have been too specialized to create civilian applications. As a result, the government has played a largely negative role, diverting attention and funds from civilian research. (Ironically, the semiconductor industry's best hope may be the politically dangerous and strategically questionable “Star Wars” project, which may yield a wealth of civilian applications.)

But some American semiconductor producers attribute the growing chip gap entirely to unfair Japanese trade practices. This summer, the Semiconductor Industry Association (SIA), an organization comprising the independent chip producers, filed a complaint with the U.S. Special Trade Representative charging the Japanese with blocking American exports to

Japan and “dumping” goods on the American market.

While the SIA's brief could not detail any specific cases in which Japanese producers favored their own for extra-market reasons, such practices are legion in Japan's highly nationalistic capitalism.

There have also been instances of dumping. This June, retiring Treasury Undersecretary Lionel Olmer unveiled a memorandum from Hitachi's San Jose Marketing Division calling on Hitachi salespeople to underbid their competitors regardless of price. “Quote 10 percent below competition,” the memo read. “If they requote, bid 10 percent again. The bidding stops when Hitachi wins.”

But the brunt of the SIA's case against the Japanese microelectronics industry rested on the most dubious and self-incriminating grounds. Required to specify how the Japanese restrain trade, the SIA cited precisely those structural factors of Japan's industry and government that the U.S. would do well to emulate rather than damn.

For instance, the SIA complained that “the same companies that dominate Japanese semiconductor production also dominate semiconductor consumption. The small group of producer-consumers are linked by multiple horizontal ties.” And the SIA “charged” that the Japanese government has “encouraged” these firms to “participate in numerous joint R&D programs” and has tried to prevent “excessive” competition and duplication of effort among Japanese firms.

The SIA's complaint called for the “development of a cost-price model” for Japanese imports by which Japanese prices would be set according to American cost estimates. Such a mechanism would operate similarly to the steel industry's “trigger pricing” on imported steel. In the case of steel, it allowed firms to use government-enforced inflation to salvage sufficient profits to bail out of the industry altogether.

SIA executives also want to impose the disabilities of laissez-faire capitalism upon the Japanese in the name of fair trade. While the SIA stopped short of calling for the dismantling of MITI, some industry executives have not been so discreet. According to the *National Journal*, Advanced Micro Devices Vice President George M. Scalise, a prime mover in SIA, “advocates splitting the semiconductor divisions of Japanese electronics companies from their consumer divisions.”

### Implications of chip gap

One can see in the growing chip gap a recurring pattern of national economic ascent and decline. The Japanese are doing to the U.S. precisely what the U.S. did to the British decades ago. Just as the British, the pioneers in electrical engineering, found U.S. industry putting their designs for televisions to a profit, the U.S. appears destined to watch the Japanese tailor American inventions to the world market.

In competing with the U.S., the British were hampered by a 19th-century industrial base and workforce; in competing with the Japanese, the U.S. is being hampered by a mid-20th-century industrial base and workforce, forged in the assembly-line era, and by frontier assumptions of the proper relationship between business and government.

The stakes in the competition are high. The U.S. can lose far more than pride. If the U.S. continues to fall behind Japan, the American trade deficit will grow. And as the deficit grows, America's per capita income will shrink.

Buoyed by temporary prosperity, the Reagan administration is basking in the sunlight of antediluvian economics, while under cover of night America's capacity to compete in the world market is steadily chipped away.

## As American as cherry pie

The story of the American invention of the chip is told in a new book, *The Chip*, by Washington Post staff writer T.R. Reid. In 1947, William Shockley and two other physicists discovered that materials like silicon, known as semiconductors, were less conductive than silver, gold or copper, and provided the basis for a new method of amplifying electrical current. The tiny transistor, built from semiconductor materials, could replace the cumbersome and difficult to construct vacuum tube.

Transistors made possible pocket radios, but not micro-computers. To build computers like Control Data's CD 1604 required wiring together 25,000 tiny transistors, 100,000 diodes and several hundred thousand resistors and capacitors—an impossibly error-

prone task. In late 1952 and early 1959, respectively, Jack Kilby, working at Texas Instruments in Dallas, and Robert Noyce, at Fairchild Semiconductor in Palo Alto, Calif., devised a silicon chip no larger than a fingernail with the different components etched into it.

The first chips began to appear only five years later—the result of massive funding from the military and the Air Force's Manneplan project. But from then, the development of the chip proliferated, and the size, speed and power of the chips increased as their price decreased. In 1984, chips contained about 30 electrical components and cost \$32; by the year 2000, chips with more than 250,000 components were selling for less.

J.B.J.



# Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America

By Carroll Smith-Rosenberg  
Knopf, 400 pp., \$19.95

By Martha Vicinus

IN 1975, IN ITS FIRST ISSUE, THE feminist periodical *Signs* published historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's groundbreaking essay, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in 19th-Century America." In the ensuing decade the essay has been translated into half a dozen languages, has appeared in countless anthologies and has generated heated debate among feminist historians. It must rank as one of the best-known essays on 19th-century American women written since the rise of the feminist movement.

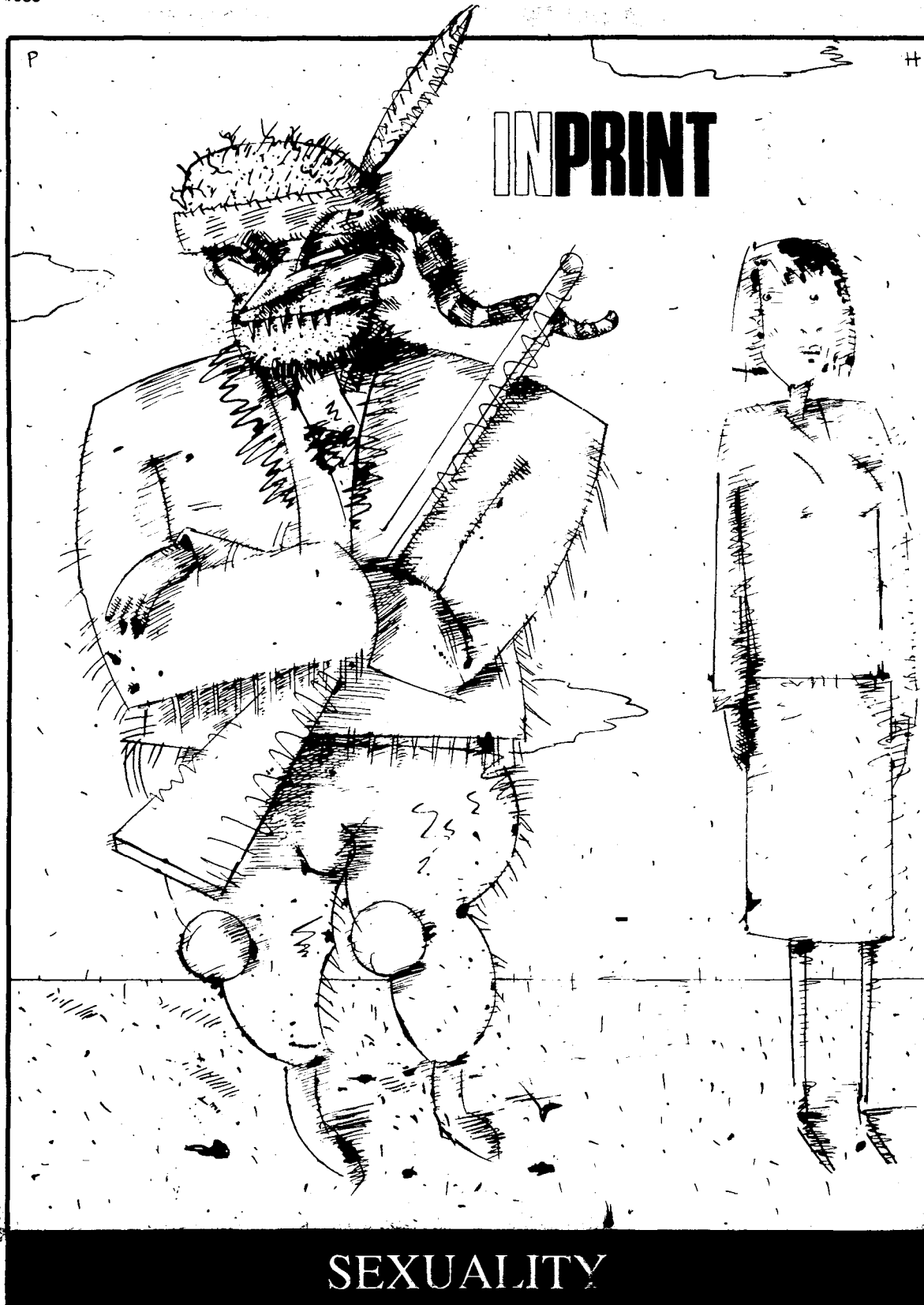
Smith-Rosenberg documented a separate female world of strong kinship and friendship ties and affectionate support. Here, at last, was a woman's world; women were not simply powerless victims (or shrewish respondents) of male economic and political power. They had a world of their own, with their own values, assumptions and networks. Moreover, it was a world that encouraged women's homoerotic friendships, a subject shrouded in 20th-century secrecy. Smith-Rosenberg had revealed not only a new source of evidence about women—their unpublished diaries and letters—but also a new framework for studying their lives—an autonomous world of love and ritual.

*Disorderly Conduct* reprints "The Female World of Love and Ritual," along with a series of essays on the relationship between sexual attitudes and public fears in the U.S. in the 19th century. Its publication establishes Smith-Rosenberg as a major theoretician of the languages of sexuality. Strongly influenced by the symbolic anthropologists Victor Turner and Mary Douglas, Smith-Rosenberg argues that the best way to understand the past is through a close analysis of the competing symbolic systems employed by those with and those without power.

## Davy Crockett

In a richly provocative article, "Davy Crockett as Trickster: Pornography, Liminality, and Symbolic Inversion in Victorian America," she demonstrates how Davy Crockett represented the chaotic power of youthful disorder during the rapidly changing Jacksonian period. Dirty, drunken and sexual, he challenged the growing hegemony of the industrializing East and its validation of cleanliness, temperance and self-control. But Smith-Rosenberg does not let the reader romanticize Crockett and his freer ways. As she points out, he also embodied the racism, sexism and violence of a culture that encouraged the rape of the land. In an 1849 tale Crockett killed two Indians, reporting, "I smashed number one into injun gravy with my foot, and spread it over number two, and made a dinner for me and my dog. It was superlucious."

The animalistic Crockett competed directly with several different sexual and social languages. Eventually he went underground, reappearing in different guises to haunt the American imagination. But as Smith-Rosenberg shows, white, middle-class men were quite successful in other campaigns to control sexuality.



# Fulfilling the sexual fears of middle-class men

In an essay that has obvious relevance for today, "The Abortion Movement and the AMA, 1850-1880," she documents how middle-class men colluded with a self-aggrandizing medical organization to reconstitute the public debate on abortion. This meant redefining conception as the key moment in pregnancy, rather than the traditional time of "quickening" (i.e., when a woman felt the fetus move). Like the present-day anti-abortion movement, the AMA was especially skillful at hiding its attack on women in grandiose phrases and appeals to God and country. Behind the economic self-interest of the doctors, according to Smith-Rosenberg, was a strong fear of uncontrollable women.

Women had become too power-

ful a voice in the public sphere, demanding personal self-development and the reform of male sexual conduct; they were forgetting their God-given duty to bear children. The very men who wanted their wives to be resplendent symbols of their prosperity also promulgated a public ideal of the domestic and reproductive True Woman. The connection Smith-Rosenberg makes between fears of women's power in the public sphere and the anti-abortion movement can be made today.

Smith-Rosenberg's major new essay in this collection is "The New Woman as Androgyne: Social Disorder and Gender Crisis, 1870-1936." Here she traces the course of women's homoerotic friendships through two genera-

tions, showing the path from social acceptance to social deviance. The complicated interaction between public values and private conduct is delineated through an analysis of public women—educators, settlement-house workers and writers. Late 19th-century middle-class women took their mothers' world of love and ritual into their professional lives, creating supportive single-sex communities. Because they were unable to understand the primacy of heterosexual relations among 20th-century women, they remained out of touch with the medical revolution in sexual thinking.

## Sexologist Ellis

The pioneering sexologist Havelock Ellis first brought to the attention of the medical world the sexual nature of women's friendships. The most controversial part of Smith-Rosenberg's essay is her argument that 20th-century women accepted the definitions of Ellis and his cohorts, and then attempted to transform them into a female form of androgyny. In the process, she claims, they lost the uniquely female language of their foremothers. To outsiders they appeared to have accepted the definition of autonomous women as sexually deviant, and indeed, created themselves in this image.

themselves in this image.

From the heterosexually active Greenwich Village artist to the expatriate "Mannish Lesbian" of Paris, women seemed to be fulfilling the fears of middle-class men. Smith-Rosenberg reads these flamboyant women of the '20s not as representatives of the extremes of sexual options for women, but as the vanguard in the creation of an androgynous woman. Drawing her examples from the writings of Virginia Woolf, Djuna Barnes, Natalie Barney and Gertrude Stein, she argues for a literary debate of avant-garde androgyny.

Smith-Rosenberg concludes, "But words, unallied to material sources of power, become like spirits divorced from corporeal form.... [The New Women] failed because they lacked the real economic and institutional power with which to wrest hegemony from men and so enforce their vision of a gender-free world."

Unfortunately, she does not tease out these links between the changing sexual languages used and economic and institutional powers. The New Women of the '20s were remarkably successful in self-presentation. Their personal distaste or indifference in regard to institutions may have been a calculated political move. Perhaps the onus of failure rests upon women of the '30s who narrowed the definition of the political to the economic. Whatever the case, I am not entirely convinced by Smith-Rosenberg's rather schematic choice of "deviant women." "The New Woman as Androgyne" is an important pioneering overview of a key period, rather than a definitive study.

Women have at certain historical moments been able to "enforce their vision" upon at least part of the public sphere. Women of the Progressive movement successfully initiated reforms in health, child care, industrial safety and elementary education. A more troubling issue that Smith-Rosenberg has raised in *Disorderly Conduct* is when and why women accept an alien ideology. Why did women come to agree with the AMA that abortion was a crime, when they had originally opposed such a definition? Why did women adopt a medical explanation of sexual behavior in the early 20th century? Smith-Rosenberg's emphasis upon symbolic systems is enormously helpful in rethinking questions such as these.

But at times, such as in the essay "The Cross and the Pedestal: Women, Anti-Ritualism, and the Emergence of the American Bourgeoisie," the symbolic model seems too far from historical evidence. I can think of as many women who were fervent ritualists as were converts to anti-ritualism; an anthropological model is insufficient here. We need more case studies, more information about women in churches and a more thorough analysis of the ways in which medical ideas reached the bourgeoisie. Most of all we need more historians willing to make the connections between private behavior and public debate.

Smith-Rosenberg remains one of our most provocative and thoughtful historians; *Disorderly Conduct* is convincing evidence that sexuality is central to an understanding of economic and social change.

Martha Vicinus is the author of *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920*.



## APARTHEID

# Soweto revolt is considered from inside out

A Ride on the Whirlwind

By Sipho Sepamla  
Readers International

By Darcy DeMarco

WITH THE CONFLICT IN South Africa continuing to escalate, the timeliness of the only hardcover edition of Sipho Sepamla's *A Ride on the Whirlwind* cannot be underestimated. Banned in South Africa upon publication in 1981, the book immediately became a best-seller in that country after being unbanned a year later. The Readers Interna-

*Despite philosophical differences, members of the South African black community are united in their efforts to end apartheid.*

tional edition, co-published with the Heinemann's African Writers Series and the original Johannesburg publisher, is a photo reproduction of one of the three copies of the original, banned version that reached England. Readers International shared costs with the Johannesburg publisher to allow inexpensive copies to be issued in South Africa for township readers.

In the novel, Sepamla, who is best known in his country as a poet, tells the story of the 1976-77 revolt by Soweto schoolchildren from the viewpoint of the black community. Sepamla utilizes a set of fictional characters to bring home to the reader the casual brutality of everyday relations between the ruling whites and the black citizens of South Africa.

From the story's outset, when the mysterious young assassin Mzi steps off a train at Park Station, Sepamla's tautly written prose conveys the oppression and hushed urgency during the revolt. As we follow Mzi on his mission to eliminate the hated black police warrant officer Batata, the inherently violent nature of apartheid becomes apparent as the police attempt to put down the riots that serve as a backdrop for the action. The whites' willingness to use imprisonment, torture and murder to force their adversaries into submission is in pointed contrast to current Reagan and Botha claims that life for blacks in South Africa is improving.

Paralleling the tale of Mzi is that of a group of young people involved in the demonstrations. Though Mzi comes into contact with them, he remains aloof, with little of his character revealed. Fresh from military training in Tanzania, his cool and deliberate planning to accomplish his goal sets him apart from the enthusiasm and insecurities of the youths. That only Mzi achieves a semblance of success in carrying out his mission and escaping imprisonment may stand as a commentary on the need for more professional leader in the resistance movement.

The inclusion of an older couple and several women in the movement serves to demonstrate the all-encompassing nature of the resistance. Despite philosophical differences, members of various sectors of the black community are united in their efforts to end apartheid and create a society where they can live without fear. The women in the story are especially strong, taking equal risk with the men by providing shelter, food and a hiding place for Mzi and the students.

When arrested and imprisoned, the women share in the torture that the men experience; in one particularly gut-wrenching sequence, interrogators pinch the student Bongi's nipples with pliers. This sharing of pain between the men and women enables them to transcend usual sexual barriers and unites them in their common hatred of their oppressors. That such tactics on the part of the police are, in the long run, self-defeating is evidenced by the increased resolve of their victims to continue the struggle.

*A Ride on the Whirlwind* is a fast-paced, tense and potentially deadly ride on the wind of violent social change. As with the leaves caught in the wind during a storm, the riders may find themselves blown to the ground, but the wind continues unabated, catching more leaves in its gusts as it grows more turbulent.

**Darcy DeMarco** is a freelance writer based in San Diego. Her reviews have appeared in the *San Diego Woman*, *High Sierran* and *Wholistic Living News*.



Peter Hannan

## REFUGEES

# Peasants pawns in war game

Forced to Move: Salvadoran Refugees in Honduras

By Renato Camarda  
Solidarity Publications, P.O. Box 40874, San Francisco, CA 94140  
99 pp., \$9.75

By Dan Bellm

SINCE 1980 MORE THAN A million Salvadorans—more than 20 percent of the country's population—have been displaced from their homes, and now live as refugees scattered throughout Central America, Mexico and the U.S. For most, the nearest refuge is Honduras, but that has been a mis-

erable and perilous choice. In several well-documented incidents in 1981 and 1982, hundreds of Salvadorans fleeing to Honduras were massacred at the border along the Sumpul and Lempa rivers by the cooperating armies of both countries. Today some 20,000 Salvadorans live in Honduran refugee camps, unwelcome pawns in a widening regional war.

Their plight re-entered the news here after an attack by 80 Honduran soldiers August 29 at a UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) camp at Colomoncagua, Honduras, six miles from the border. Honduras and the U.S. embassy both charged that the camp "was being used as a rest area by Salvadoran guerrillas." Firing hundreds of bullets at unarmed refugees for nearly an hour, the soldiers wounded three children and a 70-year-old man. According to five relief officials, they also kicked a two-month-old infant to death.

*Forced to Move* by Renato Camarda, a Pacifica Radio correspondent who spent a year working in the Honduran camps, is an excellent source book on this under-reported crisis. Compiled largely from the testimony of refugees and relief workers, and well-illustrated with photographs, maps and charts, *Forced to Move* documents

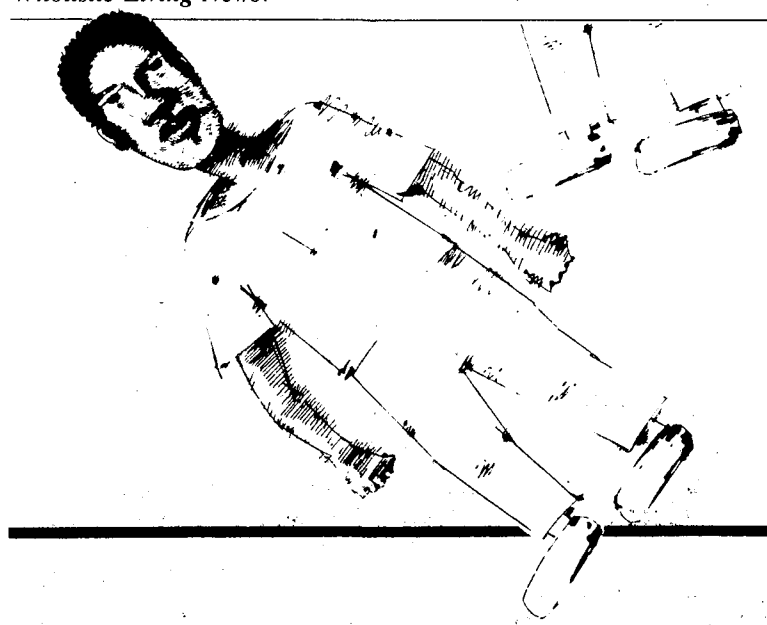
frequent kidnappings and killings of refugees by the Salvadoran and Honduran armies, as well as several forced relocations further into Honduras under the pretext of offering great security.

As Rep. Ron Dellums notes in his introduction to the book, the real reason for clearing the border has been to create inside Honduras "a free-fire zone for joint Honduran/Salvadoran operations" against FMLN strongholds. Behind this alliance of two traditionally hostile nations, who fought an ill-resolved "soccer war" in 1969, lies U.S. "encouragement"—and massive military aid. Camarda also charges that UNHCR has betrayed the "completely non-political character" mandated in its 1950 charter by bowing to pressures from the U.S., from which it receives one-third of its budget.

For over a year the Reagan administration has considered relocating the Salvadoran refugees once more, this time far inland to Olanchito, less than two hours from Honduras' major military port and airbase, Puerto Castilla. Why the delay? "The forced movement of nearly 20,000 refugees—mostly children, women and the elderly," says Camarda, "would be sure to draw criticism from around the world," and lead Congress to scrutinize more closely the entire Honduran situation, especially the U.S. military buildup.

The fate of these refugees, adds Dellums, will be "a significant harbinger of the real U.S. intentions in Central America."

**Dan Bellm** has written on Central American politics and culture for *The Nation*, *the Village Voice* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.





## ART«»ENTERTAINMENT



Living at Risk

By Pat Aufderheide

**B**EFORE THE RAGE OF REAGAN, Nicaragua was not a country in American media. Seen from the center, it's been a trouble spot; from the right, it's been a launching pad or a warehouse; from the left, a litmus test for political attitudes at home. The news we get from any source is mostly military, even more so with the escalation of invasion threats and the *contra* war.

That's not altogether a wrong impression, as the hour-long documentary *Living at Risk: The Story of a Nicaraguan Family* makes clear. Nicaragua is indeed a country at war, where 60 percent of the annual budget is poured into defense. But self-defense goes on within a context that never manages to make it to the evening news.

The context is one of a society making itself up as it goes along, with few guidelines and fewer resources. And where we see military news—say, in a *contra* attack on the border—what Nicaraguans see is a daycare center that took three years to build and burned to the ground in hours, turning babies into ashes in the process.

*Living at Risk* creates that context, with a gambit much like *From the Ashes...Nicaragua*, which offered an inside view of the revolution from the vantage point of a working-class family—the primary beneficiaries. This film, by contrast, starts from the point Americans may find most accessible: the life of a middle-class family, once part of the fabulously privileged elite and now in the middle of the contradictions and conflicts of a revolution.

The project was set in motion last year when filmmakers Alfred Guzzetti and Richard Rogers visited longtime friend Susan Meiselas, the photographer who over the last seven years has documented Central American turmoil (*Nicaragua: June 1978-*

*July 1979*; and co-editor and contributor, *El Salvador: Work of 30 Photographers*) in Nicaragua. The two were jarred by their encounter with the unexpected, and Meiselas was attracted by the chance to describe Nicaragua in her own terms. She explained last July in Nicaragua, "As a photographer, I'm very much limited by how the world is written. I've taken so many pictures of this process, whether it be a vaccination campaign or literacy classes, but—they're never published. So with the film I tried to create another context."

Besides, she explained, the *contra* war often defeats the photojournalist: "Just to document this war is incredibly difficult—it's a hit-and-run affair. You're never there at the time human beings are affected. I finally felt the only way to understand this war was to see how it affects people's lives."

**A human dimension**

The trio decided to focus on the Barrios family, cousins to the leading elite Chamorros family and longtime friends of Meiselas. The family agreed to be filmed only when Meiselas argued that their experience would help interpret the revolution for North Americans. In part, they were reluctant to discuss family tensions in public; but more, they worried that a film about the Barrios family would slight what they saw as the real story—a revolution "of the poor, by the poor, and for the poor," as Sandinista TV reiterates daily.

The film wins that gamble without losing the human dimension of the family's own struggles to redefine itself. The family's decisions and problems reveal the distinctive challenge of Nicaraguan-in-the-making.

Like the Chamorros, the Barrios' are divided in their response to a revolution that has shorn them of ancient privilege. Most of the six children work for the government, and one also works for the FSLN. Most of the older generation keeps a cool distance, await-



Living at Risk

The Barrios family is divided over the Sandinista revolution.

## DOCUMENTARY

## Living at risk in Nicaragua today

ing a change of regime. The film introduces us, couple by couple, to the younger generation and travels with them through ordinary days rendered extraordinary by circumstances, anguished by the *contra* war, and fraught with contradiction.

After a brief historical introduction illustrated by Meiselas' photographs, we meet Miguel Barrios, now an agricultural official, steering his jeep down bumpy back roads on which colleagues have died in *contra* attacks. At home, his wife, breastfeeding their new baby, explains how the family copes with the danger: "You just can't think about it."

At dinner, they both try to explain why they stay, but the words—"we're striving for a decent life for everyone"—don't satisfy our curiosity. It helps a little when Miguel's wife, walking through an open-air market with her children, recalls the debutante she once was, her highest aspira-

tion a Miami shopping trip. It helps more when we meet Miguel's mother and learn about the family's Christian backgrounds.

As students in a Jesuit high school, the children studied sociology in brutally poor Managua neighborhoods. Federico—sole survivor of a revolutionary band of 20 men—recalls, "It was shocking to me as a Christian to see that poverty." It led them to new goals; as Mauricio, now a doctor on the *contra*-infested northern border, explains, "I want a country where there are no more little kids with big bellies."

Trailing behind the self-possessed Barrios siblings at work convinces you that these people aren't martyrs or zealots but professionals who are genuinely engaged by their work. Barrios sister Martisabel checks out pesticide supplies with peasants—some are in a coop, others are small farmers—near Managua.

To visit Mauricio, however, it's a three-day haul to the isolated hospital, and when we get there Mauricio is busy unloading the hospital's water supply from a donkey laden with canisters of river water. We take a short spin upriver, where recently a fellow medico took off with a load of vaccine. He was found later, murdered by *contras*, who also raped and tortured the nurses with him before their deaths.

For the Barrios children, what's at stake is not abstract, and there's a cool urgency to their demeanor. Their decisions to work for Sandinista Nicaragua, however, have not gone uncontested in their family or among their friends. The Barrios are still middle-class kids, and when one of the couples attends a plush Sunday brunch, we can see and hear that they're the only Sandinistas in that particular back yard.

Martisabel describes with some pain her relations with in-laws who are convinced she's ruined their son with Communist propaganda. And conspicuously absent in the film—although noted in the narration—are the father, who refused to be filmed, and the eldest son, studying business in Costa Rica and without current plans to return.

**Nicaragua's social context**

*Living at Risk* is a film where talk is critically important; the subjects talk directly to the camera at length as well as allowing the camera to snoop on their conversations with others. It's Barrios family conversation, explanation and plain chitchat that constructs a social context around the militarized Nicaragua in our minds. And so it's a statement of the film's quality that it doesn't seem talky.

The camera quickly establishes a rapport with the Barrios children, and it's easy to believe they're talking to us instead of to Meiselas. The film travels, both visually and structurally—the editing is unobtrusively excellent—along our lines of curiosity, sometimes lingering on revealing details, sometimes surveying the scene with a tourist's appraising glance. What the film doesn't do is argue. It takes its tone from the Barrios family, who never exhort or appeal, but politely share their experiences and concerns.

For all the talk, the film transmits something that no amount of conversation can convey: the intense warmth of Barrios family relations. When the grandmother pages through a family photo album with her grandchildren, when a couple teases their child at dinner, when the extended family gathers for a party after the new baby's baptism, the love among them comes off the screen.

The Barrios family has its roots, responsibilities and loyalties in Nicaragua. The Barrios children work for the revolution because they live there, and they need to live there tomorrow. Their job now is to build a context that will secure their family's future.

With its focus on the Nicaraguan middle class, *Living at Risk* may be a peculiarly American "take" on this revolution. But it also highlights ways in which this revolution is distinctive. And the perspective works to translate rather than transmute a dramatically different reality for American audiences.

For more information, contact New Yorker Films, 16 W. 61st St., New York, NY 10023; (212) 247-6110.



By James Roy MacBean

## FILM

# Larger-than-life legacy of Welles' *Citizen Kane*

ORSON WELLES, THE former theatrical wunderkind who in 1938 scared the daylights out of American radio audiences with his realistic rendition of "The War of the Worlds" and then awed American moviegoers with his 1941 film *Citizen Kane*, died October 10 at the age of 70. Welles' death, after decades of aborted or unfinished film projects interspersed with frequent appearances in television commercials and on TV talk shows, brings to an end a career that somehow never lived up to the enormous promise of Welles' first spectacular accomplishments.

The prodigiously talented Welles early made his mark as an actor-director who shocked Broadway theater audiences in the '30s with his *Julius Caesar* set in fascist Italy, his all-black staging of *Macbeth* and his presentation of Marc Blitzstein's *The Cradle Will Rock*. Then, in 1937, together with actor John Houseman, Welles formed the Mercury Theater Project, which included the Mercury Theater of the Air, a weekly radio series. The Oct. 30, 1938 broadcast of H.G. Wells' "The War of the Worlds" was intended as a kind of Halloween prank, but the sonorous and authoritative voice of Orson Welles (no relation to H.G. Wells) gave this tale of Martian invaders in New Jersey such immediacy that thousands of American listeners panicked and fled their homes.

Instantly, Orson Welles was a "hot property," and RKO studios quickly invited Welles to Hollywood and gave him carte blanche to make his first feature film. It was *Citizen Kane*, which Welles began shooting in July 1940. A more auspicious film debut could hardly be imagined. Welles co-wrote the script (with Herman Mankiewicz), directed, produced and starred in *Citizen Kane*, which traced the rags-to-riches career of a power-hungry newspaper tycoon modeled loosely on the life of William Randolph Hearst.

## Altered film's vocabulary

Released in 1941, *Citizen Kane* was hugely controversial. Hearst found the parallels with his own life far too close for comfort, and he did everything he could to suppress the film. None of the newspapers in the vast Hearst chain were allowed to print reviews of *Citizen Kane*; and, more serious, many refused to print ads indicating where and when the film was being shown. Hearst also apparently came within a hair of getting RKO to drop the film before its release and destroy the negative. Recognizing that they were onto something big, however—and hoping for a huge *succes de scandale*—RKO went ahead and released the film. While not a huge commercial success, *Citizen Kane* received considerable attention and critical acclaim from the non-Hearst press.

Looking back on the time of *Kane*'s release, critic Kenneth Tynan later reminisced that, "Nobody who saw *Citizen Kane* at an impressionable age will ever forget the experience; overnight the American cinema had acquired an adult vocabulary." As audacious in form as in content, *Kane* opened a lot of viewers' eyes to the power of the cinema. Welles told the story of Charles Foster Kane in an

elliptical narrative utilizing extensive flashbacks. He employed extreme low-angle shots, deep focus, long takes and shadowy backlighting to heighten the picture of Kane's rise to power as a business and political figure.

Over the decades, of course, *Citizen Kane* has taken its place as one of the great classics of film history, and certainly as the high point of Welles' career. Today, although some of its expressionistic devices seem dated, *Kane* continues to inspire both audiences and filmmakers. Allusions to *Kane* abound in contemporary cinema. One example well worth looking into is Polish filmmaker Andrzej Wajda's brilliant 1977 film *Man of Marble*, which has been likened by many critics to Welles' masterpiece.

A British critic, the late Jan Dawson, called *Man of Marble* "an East European *Citizen Kane*," and she observed in *Sight and Sound* that "where Kane himself was an American archetype, es-

entially a self-made man and myth, Wajda's hero is, as befits a socialist society, a pure product of the state." Dawson also argues that "Thematically, Andrzej Wajda's film is concerned with the mechanics of mythology: it explores the apparatus whereby a public image is created, modified and demolished, while simultaneously pursuing its own investigation into the reality behind the official myths. Like *Kane*, it is concerned with the power of the media to manipulate and even to manufacture truth; but where Welles was conducting a many-leveled inquiry into the power of the press, the medium with which Wajda is centrally concerned is that of the motion picture. His film, even more than *Kane*, becomes a technical demonstration of his subject matter: its virtuoso style has a total thematic relevance."

In both films, the basic narrative is an investigation into the past of a man whose life is something of an enigma. Likewise, in both films

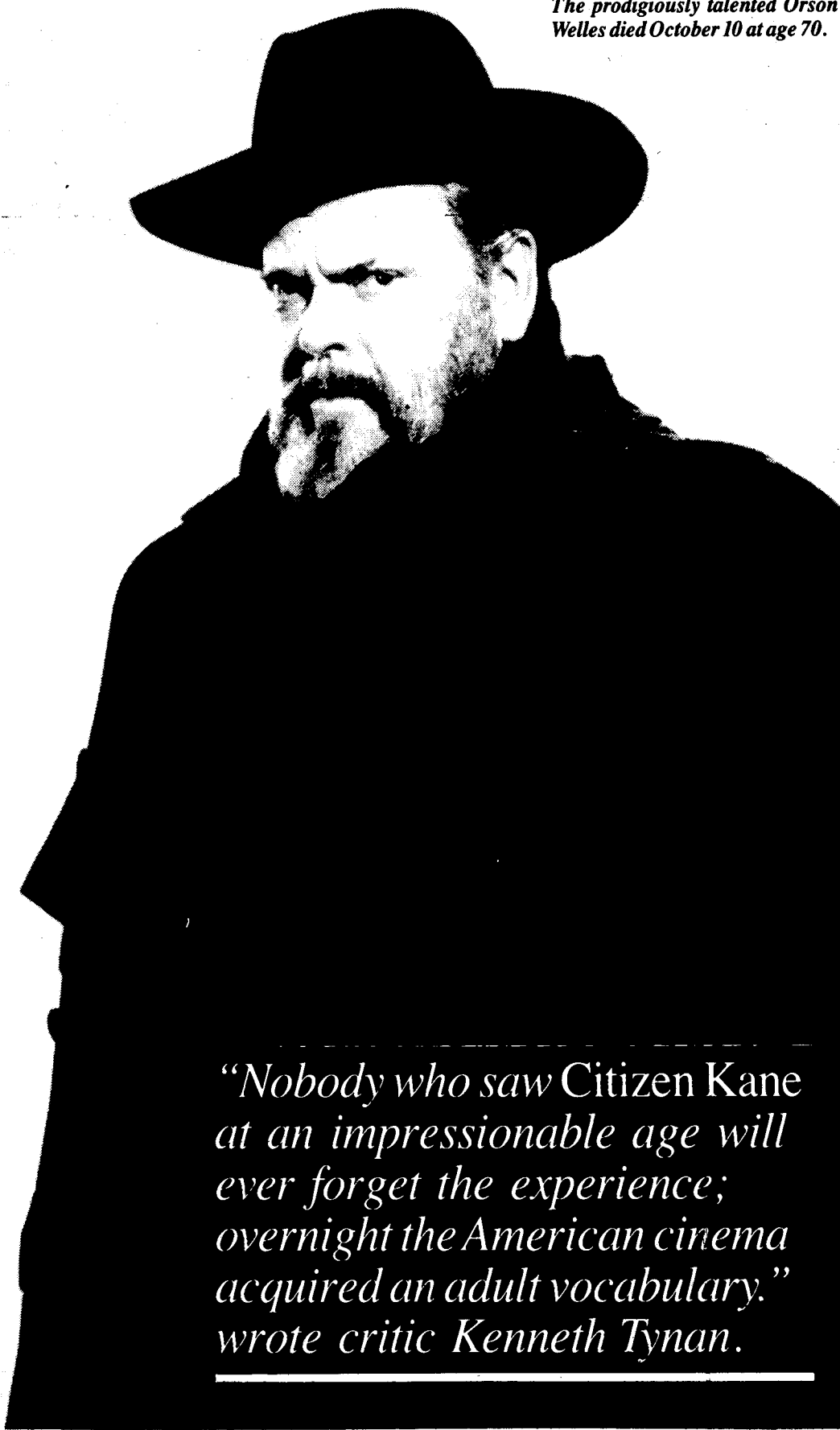
there is an elliptical narrative that develops on several time-frames simultaneously, utilizing extensive flashbacks.

## Welles and Wajda

There are, however, important differences in the handling of this basic structure. In *Kane*, the figure of the newspaper reporter who digs into the life of Charles Foster Kane is left totally in the dark: we literally do not get to see his face, so completely does Welles want the larger-than-life figure of Kane to dominate our attention. Likewise, although the flashbacks into Kane's past are triggered by the reporter's ongoing investigation, there is very little sense of development on this plane.

The reporter feels he is getting nowhere, and he abandons the investigation just before the end of the film, even missing the "Rosebud" clue. Consequently, one has the feeling, even while watching the film, that the present

*The prodigiously talented Orson Welles died October 10 at age 70.*



*"Nobody who saw Citizen Kane at an impressionable age will ever forget the experience; overnight the American cinema acquired an adult vocabulary." wrote critic Kenneth Tynan.*

tense (of the reporter's search) is a mere pretext for the dramatic exposition of the past tense rendered in flashbacks.

In Wajda's *Man of Marble*, by contrast, the present time-frame of the filmic narrative is just as important as the past being investigated. Here, the basic narrative structure provided by the investigation is more than a mere device, and the individual who carries out the investigation—Agniewska, a young woman working on her diploma in film for the Polish National Film School—is featured at least as prominently in the filmic narrative as the man—Birkut, a former "model worker" from the 1950s—who is the ostensible object of her investigation.

Another difference between the two films is that the investigation in *Kane* is couched in terms of attempting to find clues that will reveal the "secret" of Kane's grandiose but strangely tragic personality—a search whose terms invite from the outset a "psychologizing" approach. (And, of course, the famous "Rosebud" clue at the end of the film hardly discourages this approach.) By contrast, in *Man of Marble*, Agniewska's filmic investigation into the officially discredited figure of Birkut strikes a brilliant balance of the personal and the political, and does so without falling into the glib "psychologizing" approach which many critics feel weakens *Citizen Kane*.

In *Man of Marble* the personal and the political are put on an equal footing, and the relations between them are explored. By contrast, in *Kane*, the focus is single-mindedly on the personal. The political element enters, of course, but only on the coattails of Charles Foster Kane, as an emanation of his charismatic personality and drive for power. In *Kane*, unlike *Man of Marble*, the political element is reduced to, and subsumed within, the element of the personal.

Some have argued that in *Citizen Kane* Welles offers, at least implicitly, a critique of American values and of the American political system, which allows a charlatan like Charles Foster Kane (or Hearst) to attain such a position of political influence and power. However, Welles' decision to cast himself in the role of Kane—and, especially, the magisterial grandeur and panache of Welles the performer—may ultimately weaken rather than strengthen any implicit critique intended in the film.

Indeed, there are many who suspect that Welles' "political" critique may amount to nothing more than his own ironical attitude toward the gullible American audiences who will "buy" either a Charles Foster Kane, a William Randolph Hearst or, for that matter, an Orson Welles, all of whom knew how to capitalize on their larger-than-life personal charisma.

*Man of Marble* is not necessarily a better film than *Citizen Kane*. However, Wajda's film, made from within a commitment to socialist values, achieves a fluid, supple balance between the personal and the political, while Welles' film, made within an American context of rugged individualism and capitalist enterprise, reduces the political to the personal. ■

*James Roy MacBean is the author of Film and Revolution, and the forthcoming The Personal and the Political: Cinema in the Eighties.*



# Germany

Continued from page 3

Horst Teltschik toured U.S. SDI research facilities and discussed terms for a possible bilateral agreement on West German participation in SDI. Fanfare heralding an impending accord was followed by embarrassed silence.

A decision has been postponed until after the November 19 Reagan-Gorbachov summit and probably until the end of the year. There is no sign of any agreement to make Star Wars the basis for a new NATO strategy. At most, a West German "yes" to SDI research is likely to take the form of a general agreement on conditions for German firms to collaborate with U.S. firms in several clearly delimited research programs. Consensus within the Bonn government for a more far-reaching political-military agreement on SDI simply does not yet exist.

## Impossible dream?

The conditions that Bonn has reportedly set for collaboration on more than a firm-to-firm level suggest that agreement on the larger political and military-strategic questions linked to SDI will be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve, now or in the future. According to the business newspaper *Handelsblatt*, these conditions include: 1)

fair partnerships, 2) unhindered free exchange of data and research findings, 3) no technological "one-way street," 4) German ability to influence the program as a whole, 5) no zones of unequal security within NATO, 6) no undermining of the NATO doctrine of "flexible response," 7) preservation of the political and strategic unity of the NATO alliance, 8) continuation of cooperative negotiations between Bonn and Washington, 9) no violation of the ABM Treaty, 10) continuation of Geneva negotiations for balanced reduction of nuclear weapons, 11) no automatic transition from research to development, testing and deployment, 12) U.S. acceptance of an eventual common European position on SDI, 13) no U.S. "either/or" conditions regarding SDI and the French-sponsored European research alternative EUREKA, 14) improvement of NATO economic and military resource coordination.

Bonn's hesitation in announcing a clear-cut position on SDI can also be attributed to the Teltschik commission's failure to reach full agreement on such thorny issues as patents and technology transfer, as well as growing political opposition to SDI in the Federal Republic. Open announcement of wholehearted support for SDI by the Kohl government could galvanize the West German peace movement and make SDI a major issue in the 1987 election campaign.

Besides, for a whole range of reasons,

the Kohl government wants to balance its acceptance of SDI with support for EUREKA so as not to endanger current Franco-German relations. In late April French President Francois Mitterrand called for creation of a "European Research Coordination Agency," Eureka for short, as an alternative to SDI.

In September, the Bonn cabinet's Committee on Europe recommended allocating 60 million marks to EUREKA for 1986 plus one billion marks for the period 1987-1990. The SPD, which chooses to see EUREKA as both a European and a "non-military" alternative to SDI, argues that this is insufficient and the EUREKA funding should be increased to at least 700 million marks annually.

The political battle for and against SDI is likely to be followed by a battle over the nature of EUREKA. One way or another, the more militarist factions of West Germany's military-industrial and political elites are interested in hi-tech research to expand the country's growing role as more and more assertive arms producer and exporter. Space-related technologies can help development of new generations of weapons for conventional military conflicts, since conventional warfare—as the Falklands war amply demonstrated—has become increasingly dependent on space-based surveillance, control and communications systems.

much of what happened was out of the government's hands, the result of falling market prices for exports and tightening of credit by the International Monetary Fund.

Although Calderon claims to lead the polls, it has been an uphill climb against the PLN, which enjoys a 33-18 advantage over the USC in Costa Rica's 57-member Legislative Assembly. Remaining seats are divided between independents, socialists and Communists. Those parties also run presidential candidates, but USC and PLN candidates usually capture more than 80 percent of the vote.

If either party wins, the result will be a government hostile to the Sandinistas but unwilling to go to war with them. "Both parties see Nicaragua as a threat," Urcuyo said.

Yet that consensus does not include the Costa Rican left. "Nicaragua is no threat to Costa Rica," said Freddy Menedez, elected to the Assembly as a deputy for the Communist Popular Vanguard Party. "They have literacy and health programs, and besides, revolution is something you cannot export."

What is being exported to Costa Rica, Menedez said, is militarization. Costa Rica's army was officially disbanded in 1948, but pressure for beefing up today's 7,000-man Civil Guard increases each time the Nicaraguan army is accused of crossing the border in pursuit of *contras*. The Sandinistas protest Costa Rica's acceptance of those U.S.-backed forces, but few Costa Rican politicians suggest taking the steps to close their country to the *contras*.

Adding fuel to the fire is a traditional animosity between Costa Ricans and Nicaraguan authorities. During the 40-year reign of the Somozas, Costa Ricans harbored refugees, dissidents and eventually revolutionaries, annoying Somoza to the point of a brief, unsuccessful invasion in 1954 and providing bases for the 1979 revolution.

But since then, refugees have been of a decidedly more rightist political stripe. When Eden Pastora left the Sandinista government, vowing war against his former companions, he set up headquarters in Costa Rica. Since then, *contra* spokesmen claim fighting units are now based inside Nicaragua, a claim belied by frequent border incidents.

Both the PLN and the USC want Costa Rica to continue taking assistance from the U.S. to arm, train and "professionalize" the Civil Guard, whose officers now change every four years. Calderon has also called for a diplomatic break with Nicaragua if there is another serious border incident.

Calderon is careful to say he doesn't want an army, but the distinction between a "professionalized" Civil Guard and an army is not clear. The left does not expect an improved Civil Guard to protect Costa Rican territory as much as to further U.S. attempts to "Hondurize" the nation. "The idea is to provoke a war between Costa Rica and Nicaragua," Menedez said.

Meanwhile, right para-military groups have sprung up inside Costa Rica, hoping to accomplish what the government cannot or will not do. Their numbers are uncertain, but their goals are two-fold: provide support to the *contra* war against Nicaragua and create an atmosphere of militarism inside Costa Rica.

Concern on the left is that they are succeeding. "There have been assassinations in the north by *contras*," Menedez said. "Perhaps as many as 24 so far. There have been no convictions. In the months to come there will be more repression in the northern zones."

Border incidents with Nicaragua, what Carvajal called "a kind of Thatcher-thing," could aid the PLN candidates and affect the election, but will not affect policy. Both Arias and Calderon are likely to continue Costa Rica's nervous attempt to support U.S. policy in Central America and still avoid being drawn into a regional war. As the economic storm clouds gather, they will act partly to protect their democracy and partly out of self-interest.

**Michael Knell** is a reporter for the *Keene Sentinel* in Keene, N.H., who frequently travels to Central America.

# Bombing

Continued from page 9

tified" the man from a photograph of "Hansen" published in Swedish newspapers. After visits to Uruguay and Scandinavia and talks with dozens of people who knew the ex-guerrillas, the couple concluded there were too many differences between the possible suspects and "Hansen."

Another major lead began just hours after the explosion with a news report from Washington that the killer was Jose Miguel Lujua Gorostiola, a member of the Basque

organization ETA. According to the report, journalists in Washington received "tips" from the CIA and the State Department that the ETA carried out the bombing at the request of the Sandinistas. The story received wide coverage on U.S. television.

Shortly thereafter, French police reported Lujua had been in France under house arrest at the time of the bombing and did not resemble "Hansen," facts later corroborated by Costa Rican authorities. The State Department, however, still maintains that Lujua was the bomber and acted on behalf of Managua, according to the reporters.

When Avirgan and Honey issued their preliminary report in May, Costa Rican officials reported that an investigation by the state security organization DIS had been called off "due to death threats." Costa Rican journalists, including the director of the major daily *La Republica*, spoke of similar problems when pursuing leads in the affair.

Avirgan and Honey themselves say that such fears hampered the investigation throughout, as sources did not want to speak on the record. At every step they were also told their searching was highly dangerous. The couple, who received assistance from several others, say they decided to make what they found public in the hopes it would help secure Galil's capture and finally resolve the continuing mystery surrounding the affair.

According to Avirgan, the Costa Rican Office of Judicial Investigation (or OIJ, akin to the U.S. FBI) continues its own inquiry. OIJ official Fernando Cruz told the news team their results demonstrated "excellent journalism," but that securing judicial proof was another matter. "It will be difficult to get persons to testify in an official investigation or trial when most sources are reluctant even to give their names," Avirgan says Cruz told him.

Avirgan also says OIJ officials have denied making statements to the press that the report "has no value," as some recent news articles have asserted. This, he says, leads the couple to believe the stories have been planted to divert attention from the case. The report contains similar instances where media have been unable to identify the sources of stories they have run about the case.

# Election

Continued from page 9

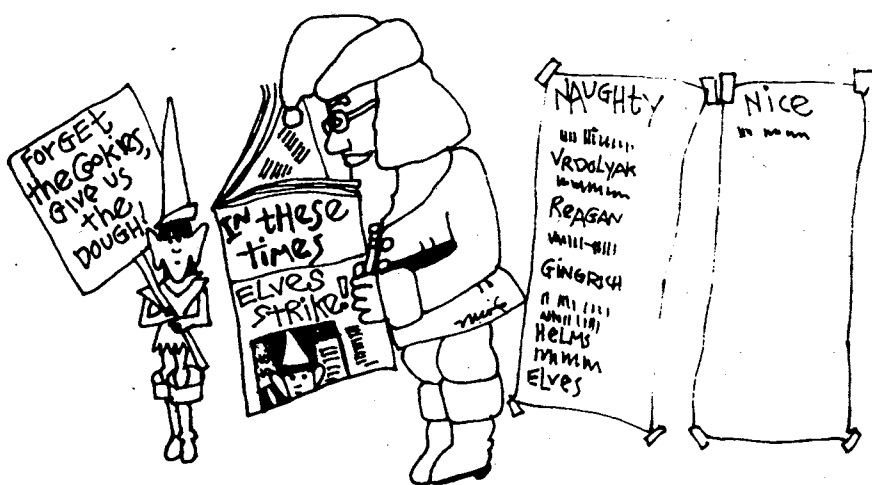
Carazo's 1978-82 presidency.

"That was a disaster for the country," said Mario Carvajal, campaign manager for Arias. "In his last two years, the gross national product decreased by 25 percent, inflation increased from 10 percent to 100 percent and the rate of exchange went from 8.6 colons to the dollar to 64 colons to the dollar." In September, Costa Rican banks were giving 51 colons for a dollar.

"They would go back to the basic tenets of the Carazo government, letting the colon float, letting the exchange rate go up, and you would see inflation go up," Carvajal said. "They also want to reduce protection for local industry. And unless that is done very carefully, it could bring more unemployment."

Calderon downplays the Carazo legacy, claiming—with some justification—that

Illustration by Nicole Hollander



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# Aversion

Continued from page 24

feels those "who make decisions about what we are capable of doing—such as being authoritative or aggressive—are limiting the opportunities for Asian-Americans."

Spurred in part by such pressures, the younger generation of Asian-Americans has enrolled in law school in growing numbers, many aspiring to political office. Yet their families still pressure them to avoid certain fields. "Our parents think it is safer for us to go into accounting or engineering—not as much discrimination because you're dealing with numbers," says Wong. "If you want to be a writer, that's going into the wrong field."

She notes teachers and counselors, too, often steer Asian-Americans "out of areas that require verbal skills and written skills"—which subtly inhibits the development of leaders, as "communication is crucial to leadership."

Individual efforts to shed these trappings are sometimes guileless and spontaneous. Independent filmmaker Arthur Dong recalls that he ran for cheerleader at a junior high school where cheerleaders were all white girls.

"I broke the sex barriers and the race barriers," he says, adding that while his intention was simply "to have fun," the result was to make him stronger in a positive way. "I don't go along with the shape," he says. "It's made me say, 'I'm not like that, I'm like this.'"

Institutional efforts have been slow to develop. Two California groups have enjoyed some success—Seid's APAAC and Asian-Americans for Community Involvement

(AACI) of Santa Clara County which he also helped found. Both reflect a great diversity by including destitute and wealthy Southeast Asian refugees, first- to fifth-generation Americans of Asian descent and members ranging in age from under 20 to over 60.

Both groups worked to block the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill and are currently fighting attempts to resurrect it. APAAC also plays a leading role in raising a cry against anti-Asian violence.

Ironically, just as APAAC has begun to establish itself, the Democratic Party leadership has eliminated its Asian Pacific Caucus. Soon afterward, the Republicans announced they expect to recognize such a caucus in time for the 1988 election.

Republicans are attracted to the variety in the Asian community, notes Henry Der, executive director of Chinese for Affirmative Action. "They see it as an opportunity to take advantage of the strong entrepreneurship of the Southeast Asian commu-

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nity and their anti-Communist sentiment.

But some Asian-American leaders question whether the Republicans will deal with discrimination any better than the Democrats. Meanwhile, groups like APAAC and AACI are working to mobilize their own power.

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They want to make their own destiny "instead of allowing someone else to determine what role we'll play in society," says Seid, who remains a key figure in both groups. "We've got a lot to learn as a people—how to use political power." ■

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"Liberalism: Its Present Condition." November 1, 6 p.m. Barbara Ehrenreich, Gus Tyler and Dennis Wrong on "Liberalism in America." November 2, 10 a.m.: Charles Hamilton and Randall Kennedy on "Liberalism and Race." November 2, 2 p.m.: Robert Kuttner, Robert Lekachman and Ruth Messinger on "A Future for Liberalism." Swaydick Auditorium, New School for Social Research, 65 Fifth Ave. (at 14th St.). Sponsored by FSIS and *Dissent* magazine. Admission free.

### BERKELEY, CA

#### November 8

"Voices for Freedom," a major forum on international issues featuring Fr. Miguel d'Escoto—foreign minister of Nicaragua, Mpho Tutu—daughter of Bishop Desmond Tutu, Congressman Ron Dellums, Marta Petrusiewicz—former Polish student leader, Margot

Kidder, Elinor Glenn—national secretary CLUW, Barbara Ehrenreich and Michael Harrington. Presented by Democratic Socialists of America. 7:30 p.m. Berkeley Community Theater, 1930 Allston Way. Tickets \$6.00 in advance, \$7.00 at the door, \$4.00 students/senior citizens (with I.D.). For tickets or information write DSA, 3202 Adeline St., Berkeley, CA 94703; or call (415) 428-1354. (MC/VISA accepted.)

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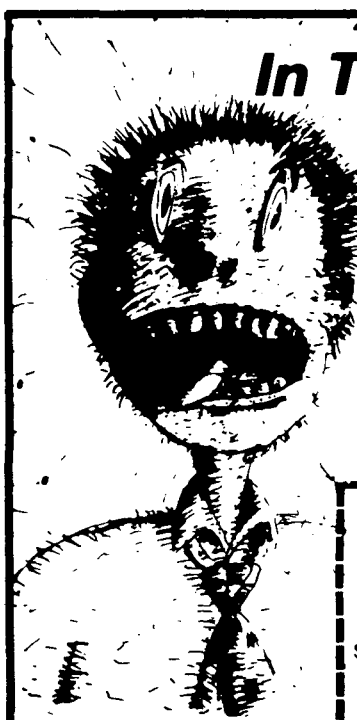
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# A Cultural Aversion

By Caroline Wang

**“W**HEN YOU WRITE THAT \$500 check,” says Sue Lee, “the politicians are going to expect to do something for you—if it’s from anybody else besides an Asian.”

In San Francisco, where Asian-Americans make up a highly visible one-quarter of the population, none of the elected supervisors are Asian-American, and only two Asian-Americans hold mayoral appointments in administrative positions, according to Lee, a special assistant in the Office of Housing and Development.

This quality of being seen but not heard—or listened to—plagues Americans of Asian descent, the so-called “Model Minority,” who want to participate in the political arena.

Except for “a proclivity to eat in Chinese restaurants,” as one observer puts it, city administrators rate poorly when it comes to assessing the Asian-American community. Faced with this ignorance, or indifference, Asian-Americans have begun to examine their relationship to the political system.

For many, the root of the problem lies not so much in how to politically organize Asian-Americans as in how to deal with the cultural mindsets that shape their participation in the public arena. Sociologist Lucie Cheng, director of UCLA’s Asian-American Studies Center, believes that Chinese, for example, avoid seeking individual success and admire those who shun visibility. “I don’t think many Americans would say ‘David Stockman is my role model,’ although he has a lot of power, clearly. They want to be the Reagans—people in the limelight.”

Many Chinese leaders, she says, tend to work in the background, and the admired person is the one “who has the real influence.”

Like many Asian-Americans of his generation, Allan Seid remembers his parents warning him about arousing attention and stirring controversy. “I recall my parents telling me, ‘Hey, you don’t make noises on streetcars or the bus. You might get into trouble. It’s tough to defend yourself against whites.’”

“The other side,” he goes on, “is the burden—you don’t want to disgrace your race.”

Seid is 49. A psychiatrist, he is also a principal founder of the most influential pan-Asian political organization in the state, Asian Pacific Advocates for California (APAAC). His own growing immersion in politics over the last decade underscores the kinds of social pressures pushing more and more Asian-Americans to overcome the “model minority” mindset.

## Increasing violence.

In San Francisco’s Chinatown, for example, elderly women can be seen scavenging dumpsters for edible scraps, and community workers say that 95 percent of all housing violates the building code. For low-income residents and refugees, help with food, shelter, legal and social services are simple matters of survival.

Seid notes a disturbing increase in the level of violence aimed at Asian-Americans, such as depicted in Louis Malle’s recent film *Alamo Bay*, which he compares to the anti-Asian atmosphere of the 1860s. “The incidences are so similar, it’s scary.”

Other Asian-American professionals emphasize the need for greater fairness, singling out how American stereotypes of Asians often block their advance. Diane Wong, a San Francisco editor, tells of a friend who has been stuck at mid-point on the executive ladder for seven years. She

Continued on page 23

**On the road to  
political power,  
Asian-Americans are finding  
the way blocked by  
internalized stereotypes.**

